

**ELIMINATING THE WORST
FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR:
AN INTEGRATED AND TIME-
BOUND APPROACH**

**A Guide for Governments,
Employers, Workers, Donors
and other Stakeholders**

April 2001

OUTLINE

Each chapter of this Guide is designed to answer a question like what, why, how, and when. The chapters are arranged in the following order:

1. Introduction
2. Understanding the Problem: causes and consequences
3. Situation Analysis & Indicators
4. Policy and Programme Interventions
5. Monitoring and Evaluation

1. Introduction

This is a brief introduction to Time-Bound Programmes, the experience of IPEC in combating child labour, as well as a summary of the chapters.

- Section 1.1 Overview: The scope of Time Bound Programmes
- Section 1.2 Focus on the worst forms of child labour
- Section 1.3 IPEC's experience in combating child labour
- Section 1.4 Devising an appropriate policy package
- Section 1.5 Monitoring and evaluation
- Section 1.6 Taking action: Steps in formulating a national Time-Bound Programme

2. Understanding the problem: causes and consequences

The process of identifying and analysing the problems of child labour in the context of Time-Bound Programmes is closely linked to the creation of a knowledge base and supporting methodologies. This chapter explains the situation analysis and the indicators used in TBP design and implementation.

- Section 2.1 Child labour and its worst forms: an overview
- Section 2.2 The "child labour market"
- Section 2.3 The supply of child labour
- Section 2.4 The demand for child labour
- Section 2.5 The impact of economic growth on child labour
- Section 2.6 Economic downturn and macro-economic instability
- Section 2.7 The worst forms of child labour: causes and consequences
- Section 2.8 Can the worst forms of child labour be eliminated?

3. Situation Analysis & Indicators

This chapter analyses social and economic factors influencing child labour and presents profiles on four of the worst forms of child labour – debt bondage, prostitution, child soldiers, and trafficking (in Section 3.6).

- Section 3.1 Why we need Situation Analysis
- Section 3.2 Specific knowledge requirements
- Section 3.3 Sources and methodologies for data collection
- Section 3.4 Process of conducting situation analysis (how to do it)

4. Policy and Programme Interventions

Against the analytical backdrop in Section 3, this chapter discusses a range of possible interventions.

- Section 4.1 Overview of policy interventions in TBPs
- Section 4.2 National labour and social policy
- Section 4.3 Education interventions and TBPs
- Section 4.4 Macro-economic framework and poverty reduction interventions
- Section 4.5 Social mobilisation in TBPs
- Section 4.6 Gender mainstreaming: Integration of gender Issues in TBPs

5. Monitoring and Evaluation

This chapter identifies the appropriate policy and programme mix required to address the causes and consequences of child labour. Using the indicators presented in Chapter 2, the process of monitoring and evaluation is explained, as well as the implications for institutional capacities and management.

- Section 5.1 Importance of monitoring and evaluation
- Section 5.2 Principles of monitoring and evaluation in TBPs
- Section 5.3 Process of monitoring and evaluation in TBPs
- Section 5.4 Monitoring and evaluation knowledge base
- Section 5.5 Institutional capacity as a strategy of sustainability

Preface

Millions of girls and boys around the world are being exploited every day. They are an estimated 250 million in total, half of them labouring full-time and not attending school. Fifty million children at least are involved in the worst forms of child labour.

Ten years ago, much of the world denied or minimized the existence of child labour. Now, in a hopeful sign in the new millennium, governments, employers, workers, international organizations and non-governmental organizations everywhere are actively joining forces to combat this grave injustice done to children. The vicious circle of poverty leading to child labour which in turn perpetuates poverty, must be broken. Children must be able to move from work into schools and training programmes, and adults must find improved incomes and decent jobs. It can be done, and it must be done.

The International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) was launched in 1992 with a single donation from the German government. It began with six participating countries. Now, IPEC has established operational activities in 70 participating countries, with the support of 25 donor countries and contributing organizations.

Perhaps the most significant event in IPEC's history was the unanimous adoption of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) by the International Labour Conference in June 1999, together with Recommendation 190. By the end of March 2001, 71 countries had ratified Convention 182. It is also encouraging to note that two-thirds of these ratifications are from developing countries. IPEC expects at least 87 countries – 50 % of the ILO member States – will ratify the Convention by the end of 2001.

The rapid ratification of Convention 182 provides both a challenge and an opportunity to the ILO, its member States and the international community. First of all, child labour is a complex issue. Elimination of its worst forms requires an effective programme of poverty alleviation and education, changes in social values and awareness and support from the community and civil society-at-large. Moreover, there are economic, structural and social constraints to be overcome at the country level.

And while IPEC has built significant momentum during the last few years in its drive for ratification, this success has, in turn, created a new challenge: To maintain that momentum by effectively helping member States effectively implement Convention 182. In this regard, IPEC's role is both promotional and catalytic, as the goal of eliminating child labour, particularly in its worst forms, can only be achieved with the total commitment and active participation of governments, social partners and stakeholders.

Viewed from another perspective, it is important to emphasize that the member States must assume greater responsibility and accountability for the development and implementation of sustainable programmes of action for achieving the goals set by Convention 182. Already, during a conference held in Washington in May 2000 on "Advancing the Global Campaign Against Child Labour: Progress made and future actions", three countries– El Salvador, Tanzania and Nepal – pledged their commitment to implement the Time-Bound Programme (TBP) for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

This "Methodological Guide" is intended to facilitate the design and implementation of the TBPs. The Guide is a synthesis of the experience which IPEC has gathered in its work against child

labour since its launch almost ten years ago. It is the first compilation of lessons learned and the findings of policy studies related to the worst forms of child labour. The Guide is an evolving document as it aims at providing a general framework for facilitating dialogue among national stakeholders, the donor community and the ILO. As IPEC continues to promote the TBPs with additional lessons learned from programme implementation, the Guide will be revised.

The Guide begins with an introduction and overview of the TBPs, an explanation of the focus on the worst forms of child labour and a summary of some relevant IPEC experience. The second chapter deals with situation analysis concerning the development of database and indicators. Various methodologies for collecting data and information concerning child labour and its worst forms are reviewed. Chapter 3 is an analysis of the problem of child labour. It reviews factors affecting demand for and supply of child labour, analyses the impact of economic growth on the child labour market and explains the causes and consequences of child labour and its worst forms. This is followed by a presentation of various policy and programme interventions in order to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. It highlights the role of national labour and social policies, education, social mobilization and poverty reduction programmes. The final chapter discusses the system of monitoring and evaluation for the TBPs. It explains the process of monitoring and evaluation for impact assessment and the management of intervention targets.

The Time-Bound Programme approach is designed primarily to assist member States with an integrated approach for implementing ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour. Convention 182 has brought focus and a sense of urgency to the complex endeavour of progressively eliminating all forms of child labour, driven by the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138). Elimination of child labour remains the long-term goal. Elimination of its worst forms, however, is the priority target, and these forms must be dealt with in an integrated and time-bound fashion. To ensure sustainability of success, the withdrawal of children from intolerable work situations must be accompanied by measures to offer them and their families appropriate education, income and employment alternatives, as well as measures to prevent other children from getting involved.

This document is a guide to all aspects of the Time-bound Programme approach. El Salvador, Nepal, and Tanzania will be the first three countries to implement TBPs. They pledged their commitment during the Washington Conference, "Advancing the global campaign against child labour: Progress made and future actions", organised by the US Department of Labour and IPEC, in May 2000.

The International Labour Organization has a specific mandate to progressively eliminate child labour. Over the last decade, IPEC has implemented a wide range of multi-faceted projects aimed at the prevention, withdrawal and rehabilitation of child labourers in more than 70 countries. This Guide draws on the lessons learned by IPEC, as well as the experiences of ILO's tripartite partners, NGOs and other international organisations such as UNICEF and the World Bank.

The TBP combines sectoral, thematic, and country-based approaches. It links action against child labour to national development policy. TBPs aim to prevent and eliminate in each country all incidences of the worst forms of child labour within a defined period of time. The objective is to eradicate these forms of child labour within a **period of 5-10 years**, depending on the magnitude and complexity of child labour in each country. Intermediate targets will permit the measurement of gradual reduction.

Section 1.1 places the TBPs for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in the context of the current international development agenda and ILO values and standards. **Section 1.2** presents the worst forms of child labour and the related Convention and Recommendation. The evolution of IPEC programmes leading up to the TBPs is detailed in **Section 1.3**. **Section 1.4** presents a summary of appropriate policy options and **Section 1.5** gives a concise summary of monitoring and evaluation methodologies to maximize the effectiveness of TBPs. **Section 1.6** lays out the different practical steps in formulating the TBPs.

1.1 OVERVIEW: THE SCOPE OF TIME-BOUND PROGRAMMES

IPEC has been growing exponentially due to the increasingly widespread awareness of the importance of controlling child labour and, eventually, eliminating it. ILO estimates that roughly 20% of the approximately 250 million working children are engaged in the worst forms of child labour defined below. This figure is being renewed periodically, using new methodologies for qualitative assessment, combined with new survey data for a range of countries.

Increasing global concern over child labour is part of a significant global trend made in the area of children's rights:

- The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted in 1989, gained nearly universal ratification within seven years of its adoption. It provides for a child's right to be protected from economic exploitation and hazardous work, or any work interfering with, among other things, his or her education.
- ILO Conventions No. 138 and 182 are complementary to the CRC and provide detailed standards and guidance for realizing children's rights in the world of work.
- The ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work puts the effective abolition of child labour in the context of the global economy: children who go to work instead of school are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed as adults, and will eventually lose out on opportunities to benefit from the economic growth created by an integrating world economy. In this sense, the TBPs contribute both directly and indirectly to ILO's central goal of promoting **decent** work for women and men, as well as to some major objectives of international development, such as the goal of a world free of poverty and free of the misery that poverty breeds⁵.

This document provides policymakers, donors and other stakeholders with an overview of measures to be formulated into a countrywide TBP. This involves assessing the current situation via indicators, building a conducive political environment, selecting priorities, targeting specific areas for intervention, formulating policies, and carrying out operational interventions. The Guide concludes with a chapter on monitoring and evaluation, emphasizing models of successful intervention, tips on how design and implementation can be updated to benefit from experience, and how to attribute and demonstrate impact.

1.2. FOCUS ON THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

On 17 June 1999, the International Labour Conference unanimously adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) and Recommendation (No. 190), urging immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour. This Convention has had the fastest ratification pace in ILO's 81-year history. By 2001, the number of ratifications was 71. The Organisation has set itself a target of reaching 87

¹The seven internationally adopted development goals as mentioned in the World Bank's World Development Report 2000 include: i) reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015; ii) enroll all children in primary school by 2015; iii) make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005; iv) reduce infant and child mortality rates by two thirds between 1990 and 2015; v) reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015; vi) provide access for all who need reproductive health services by 2015 and vii) implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005 so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015.

ratifications (i.e., ratification by half of the ILO member States) by end-2001. The overwhelming willingness of countries to be held accountable for their record in eliminating the worst forms of child labour provides evidence of a global consensus that certain forms of child labour cannot be tolerated, regardless of a country's level of economic and social development.

All boys and girls who have not reached 18 years of age have a fundamental right to pursue their physical and mental development free from categories of work within the worst forms of child labour.

To effectively realize this fundamental right, TBPs must:

- a) prevent the engagement of children in the worst forms of child labour;
- b) provide direct assistance for the removal of children from the worst forms of child labour and for their rehabilitation and social integration;
- c) ensure access to free basic education and appropriate vocational training for all children removed from the worst forms of child labour;
- d) identify and reach out to children at special risk; and
- e) take account of the special situation of girls.

TBPs address the worst forms of child labour, as defined by Convention 182. The Convention lists three “absolute” categories of “worst forms of child labour” and one “relative” category:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children; debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- the use, procurement or offering of a child for prostitution, production of pornography or pornographic performances;
- the use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties ;
- work which by its nature or by the circumstances under which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety and morals of children.

The first three are “absolute”, in the sense that harm is inherent in the nature of the work, so that children must under no condition be admitted to them, and withdrawn if their involvement is established. The fourth category of work – commonly referred to as “hazardous work” – is “relative”, in that it may be sufficient to remove the hazard for a child to be allowed to continue to carry out the work (provided, of course, the minimum ages established in accordance with ILO Convention 138 are observed). Protecting a child's reproductive health, for example, does not make prostitution any more acceptable; replacing toxic glue with a harmless substance for the production of footwear may, however, turn a worst form of child labour into a lawful occupation.

Hazardous work is defined in the Convention not so much by its nature, but by the effect the circumstances under which it is carried out may have on children, i.e. harm to their health, their safety or morals. The types or conditions of work that are likely to have this effect must be identified at the national level in close consultation with the social partners. To put this consultation process on the right track right from the outset, the Convention refers, among others, to a list of broad categories of work in Recommendation 190, thus creating a base list for tripartite consultation:

“In determining the types of work referred to under Article 3(d) of the Convention, and in identifying where they exist, consideration should be given, inter alia, to:

- a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;

- b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
- c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
- d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
- e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer”.

These guidelines are sufficiently general to allow national stakeholders to include any form of work which they consider hazardous. TBPs will help countries to determine hazardous child labour and identify where such labour exists, so that effective interventions can be planned. The list of priorities is likely to evolve over time and the TBPs will evolve with it. Stakeholders who have doubts as to whether certain types of work expose children to hazards can call on the TBP manager for information on the situation and practice in other countries, or have the type of work examined. IPEC is developing a database of national policies with respect to hazardous child labour.

Possible examples of hazardous labour include work in mining, construction, plantations, factories, chemical plants, voluntary army service and domestic work. So, for example:

- one of the TBP pilot countries, Tanzania, has suggested mining and commercial agriculture as a priority of its programme.
- El Salvador has emphasized the dangers to child scavengers, in fireworks production, shellfish harvesting and in the sugarcane industry;
- and Nepal has identified bonded labour, victims of trafficking, porters, rag pickers and domestic workers as major target groups.

Box 1.1 Some examples of the hazards children are facing in the worst forms of child labour

ABSOLUTE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR	
Group	Some Specific Risks faced
Children in Prostitution	Abuse, sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, pregnancy, social exclusion, psycho-social disorders, family rejection, death.
Trafficked children	As above, but with the added trauma of being isolated and unable to communicate, and of being enslaved.
Slavery and forced labour	physical, mental and sexual abuse, loss of self-esteem and self-confidence, long and arduous working hours
Children in armed conflict	Death or injury in fighting, psychological trauma, etc.
EXAMPLES OF HAZARDOUS WORKING SITUATIONS	
Group	Specific risks faced
Agricultural workers	Exposure to machinery, chemical and biological agents, especially pesticides.
Mines	Injury from falling objects, harmful dusts, gases and fumes, humidity, extreme temperatures
Ceramics and glass factory work	Exposure to high temperatures leading to heat stress, cataracts, burns and lacerations, broken glass, hearing impairment from noise, eye strains, exposure to silica dust, lead, carbon monoxide and sulphur dioxide
Children in other factories or building sites	Exposure to dangerous machinery, chemicals, falling objects. Arduous working hours, abusive employers.
Deep sea fishing	Drowning, ruptured eardrums, decompression illness.
Child domestic workers (working and sometimes living in the household of the employer)	Long working hours, physical, mental and sexual abuse, isolation.
Children working in the streets (urban informal sector)	Often exposed to unsanitary conditions, risks of illness and food poisoning. Also most vulnerable to worst forms of child labour on account of exposure.

1.3 IPEC'S EXPERIENCE OF COMBATING CHILD LABOUR

IPEC's first years

IPEC started in 1992, and now operates in more than 70 countries. Over the years IPEC has built a network of key partners in member countries (including government agencies and social partners, the media, religious institutions, schools, NGOs and community leaders) and has established partnerships with donors and international agencies. IPEC activities aim at facilitating policy reform and changing social attitudes, so as to lead to the sustainable prevention and abolition of child labour. Therefore, particularly at the start of the IPEC Programme, partner organizations were supported to develop and implement innovative and experimental activities. The nature and extent of the child labour problem was analysed and national policies and protective legislation were recommended. Capacity-building mechanisms were set up to provide in-country ownership and operation of a national programme of action and to enhance awareness in the community and the workplace. Known as the IPEC country programme approach, this strategy has been instrumental in mobilizing broad support against child labour and enhancing national capacity to tackle it.

A move to more targeted projects

Over the last four years, IPEC has gradually enlarged the scope of its projects, often on a sector- or industry- specific basis. IPEC programmes have evolved to include workplace monitoring and social protection. These programmes aimed at withdrawing children from specified workplaces, sought to keep the workplaces child labour-free, and ensured that when children were withdrawn from work they were provided with education/training and their families were provided with income opportunities⁶.

The **Bangladesh garment industry** is a well-publicised instance of co-operation between employers, IPEC, UNICEF and government leading to the sustainable elimination of an arduous form of female child labour. Box 1.2 provides highlights of the project's outcomes to date.

Another successful programme was the **Centre for Children Working on the Streets of Ankara, Turkey** established in 1992. Services made available to working children by this centre included health care, education, psycho-social counselling, vocational training and extra-curricular support. An integrated approach was adopted emphasizing reinsertion into the family, schooling and improved work environment. For example, from 1994 to 1997, 1,200 out of 5,000 working street children reached by the centre or its social workers were directed to schools. In addition, the project had a strong advocacy component. This enabled IPEC's support to be phased out gradually, with the Municipality of Greater Ankara eventually assuming full financial responsibility.

⁶ For an up-to-date overview of IPEC achievements see [IPEC Highlights Report 2000](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/) available from ILO Geneva, or on <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/>

Box1.2: Eliminating child labour in the garment industry- Bangladesh

This project is based on a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the garment industry, ILO and UNICEF. It aimed at the elimination of child labour in the garment industry in selected locations in Bangladesh. An evaluation of the project was undertaken in 2000. At the time of the evaluation, the project was in its second phase (1998--2000).

The major achievements of project identified and agreed upon during the evaluation included:

- a radical decrease in the number of factories using child labour from more than 40% of factories in 1995 to 3.1 % at the end of the first MOU, in June 2000;
- establishment of an efficient and credible monitoring and verification system, identifying and withdrawing 26,866 children from BGMEA member factories in only four years; and
- the provision of access to basic education, stipends and skill training for 8,338 working children.

Weaknesses identified by the evaluation included: low efforts to institutionalise the project through the transfer of the monitoring and verification system to partners or independent parties; difficulties in reaching all children targeted; and occasional gaps in communication and information between partners.

The importance of national commitment

Experience has shown that withdrawing children from the worst forms of child labour is much more successful when there is strong political will and social commitment. This participatory approach, which has proved successful, was applied in Brazil. It involved establishment of a National Forum for the Prevention of Child Labour, composed of government agencies, employers' and workers' organisations and NGOs, with strong governmental support and IPEC co-ordination at national and local levels. (see Box 1.3)

Box 1.3 The importance of partnerships and national commitment: Brazil

In Brazil, IPEC has been recognized as a driving force in mobilizing social actors against child labour on the national agenda. The creation of the National Forum for the Prevention of Child Labour in 1994 and the development of the Integrated Action Programmes (IAPs) in 1995 were examples of how the Brazilian Government and society had joined hands to combat child labour. Results followed swiftly. The integrated programmes were expanded in 1998 as part of the lead-up to the ratification of Convention 182 to withdraw 120,000 children from some of the worst forms of child labour in the country in charcoal sites, tea plantations, sisal production, quarries, sugarcane plantations and mines. Following the ratification of Conventions 138 and 182 on 14 December 1999, a national seminar on implementation of the two ILO standards was organized in May 2000 by the National Forum, with the support of IPEC. The Federal Government subsequently announced a US\$ 500 million programme to withdraw 866,000 children from the worst forms of child labour in Brazil by the end of 2002.

Regional and national initiatives

Even more complex programmes aimed at combating certain forms of child labour, such as trafficking of children, have been undertaken and have yielded positive results. These programmes had varying degrees of national coverage, combining a range of activities --from assessment of the child labour problem and sensitisation of the public and political leaders -- to the withdrawal of children from work. IPEC has recently launched several major projects at a regional level to combat trafficking in children -- in the various Asian sub-regions, West and Central Africa, Brazil, Paraguay, and Central America.

Nepal launched a **National Plan of Action Against Trafficking in Children and Their Commercial Sexual Exploitation** in 1998, a partnership between the Ministry of Women and

Social Welfare and IPEC. Programme areas included research and institutional development, legislation and enforcement, awareness raising, advocacy networking and social mobilisation, health and education, income and employment generation and rescue and rehabilitation.

Box1.4: Regional interventions / trafficking

Though many children are trafficked within countries, there is increasing evidence in recent years of children being trafficked across borders worldwide. They are trafficked for sexual exploitation, domestic service, work in plantations, in construction sites, small shops, begging and soliciting. According to various IPEC studies, child trafficking is closely related to adult migration. In Africa, child trafficking can be facilitated by historical patterns, as people migrate from one country to another for economic reasons. Therefore, the regional dimension of child trafficking must be addressed in order to tackle this issue with significant impact. Based on this experience, IPEC launched in 1997 several major projects at the regional level in most parts of the world to combat trafficking of children for labour exploitation. These projects cover South East Asia and the greater Mekong area, South Asia, West and Central Africa, and Central and South America. All these projects aim at: (i) adopting adequate policy measures and improving legislation and its enforcement both at national and regional levels; (ii) strengthening the capacities of IPEC partners and; (iii) implementing integrated action programmes to rescue and rehabilitate child victims and prevent trafficking for children at risk.

Latest developments: Narrower focus, broader scope

The development and subsequent adoption of ILO Convention 182 was a significant step for IPEC. Its clear focus on worst forms, and its commitment to time-bound programmes will support the integration of child labour into the national development agenda. A TBP's goals, moreover, must be linked to a Poverty Reduction Strategy, under which a country qualifies for international loans. TBPs should also increasingly benefit from in-house ILO expertise in designing employment policies or improving occupational safety and health systems. In some IPEC participating countries efforts that resemble TBPs are already taking root, such as in South Africa (see Box 1.5.).

Box 1.5: Ongoing efforts featuring characteristics of the TBP approach - South Africa

The Republic of South Africa joined IPEC in 1998, and made it clear from the outset that in order to meet its commitment there was a need for a reliable and credible database on child labour in the country as a basis for establishing targets, formulating policies and implementing and monitoring interventions aimed at the eventual elimination of the practice. With IPEC support, a nationwide household survey on child labour was undertaken in May/June 1999. Having obtained the statistical data, the government is now undertaking an in-depth policy analysis, which will result in a white paper on the elimination of child labour. The programme will be implemented in a number of phases including:

- Preparing a detailed policy analysis and formulation of a consultative document;
- Initiating a broad consultation process which establishes contact with relevant stakeholders, shares findings, benefits from their experiences, conducts workshops and other meetings, and commits them to the TBP approach;
- Drafting a policy paper to be presented to a national workshop in order to obtain final comments and support. This paper will: outline the plans and objectives for the elimination of child labour, in particular its worst forms; clarify indicators and targets; define responsibilities of the actors involved; and make proposals for the required human and financial resources necessary for its implementation;
- Publicizing the accepted policy document to enhance visibility of the worst forms of child labour and the commitments of government and stakeholder to eliminate it.

1.4 DEVISING AN APPROPRIATE POLICY PACKAGE

The TBP will seek to involve *all* members of society – from enlisting support of the top leadership of each country to broad social mobilization. The programme envisages a **multi-pronged** approach that integrates social and economic policies with political mobilization and legislative intervention. Specifics of policy interventions are elaborated in Chapter 4.

Since the programme is **time-bound**, it is important to *prioritise* interventions, both in terms of what policy alternatives are funded and which activities are targeted. It is also very important to devise a monitoring and evaluation mechanism that will keep track of the pace of change and, by doing so, the feasibility of meeting the deadline. Monitoring and evaluation will help with prioritising. The manner in which the programme is made to respect the time constraint will have to be country-specific.

The following general criteria are useful in guiding strategy formulation:

- **Incentive compatibility:** Policymakers need to assess whether interventions cause not only the right response in the target group but also result in unwanted responses in other groups.
- **Cost effectiveness:** TBPs must determine how efficiently programme resources are being spent with regard to what will be achieved.
- **Sustainability:** It is necessary to guarantee the financial and political stability of programmes and their achievements, as well as to ensure that children withdrawn from dangerous conditions do not return to work when the programme is over.
- **Transparency:** It is important to have financial and administrative transparency in order to maintain public confidence in policy and hinder corruption.
- **Consistency:** This refers to the holistic approach of the TBP aims to harmonize policy interventions and partnership, by ensuring proposed projects, programmes and policy aims do not conflict.

The implementation of the TBPs will require:

- **strong political will** and a commitment to policy reforms that address the root causes of the worst forms of child labour;
- **public accountability** of progress made towards the implementation of national policy to combat the child labour problem;
- **building innovative partnerships** with governments, international organisations and financial institutions;
- **social mobilization** and campaigns on the effects of the worst forms of child labour on children and society, and the issues of child rights, protection and education;
- **rapid response measures** for prevention, withdrawal and rehabilitation of the victims of the worst forms of child labour;
- **links to poverty alleviation and quality education** that will blend with the policies and objectives of eliminating child labour;
- **gender mainstreaming** to ensure that gender inequality is recognized and addressed as a potential cause of the worst forms of child labour, as a forgotten factor when “harm to children” is determined, and as an opportunity for long-term change in the process of rehabilitation of children;
- **strengthening national capacity**, as part of sustainability, to analyse, design and implement further interventions in response to changing circumstances.

1.5 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Monitoring and evaluation are an extension of the analysis that originally identified the appropriate mix of policies and programmes. They measure and demonstrate whether the TBP is working, helps in targeting existing interventions and provides a feedback mechanism for future design and targeting. A three-step approach is used that will:

- First, assess whether the programme was implemented effectively and goals were achieved;
- Second, determine whether effects other than those predicted took place (impact assessment);
- Third, assess the extent to which the designed programme actually caused those effects.

Programme monitoring and impact assessment will each use specific indicators to measure the desired level of outcome.

Impact assessment will be done through repeated data collection exercises, similar to the initial situation analysis using key child labour indicators. The assessment will look at issues important for examination, such as:

- rates of change (magnitudes will be affected by demographic factors);
- comparison between areas with or without the intervention, if possible;
- displacement of child labour between sectors, regions and types of work;
- contextual factors such as socio-economic aspects that will affect the impact on child labour; and unintended effects;
- the effects of other interventions on related aspects, such as poverty reduction.

The process of monitoring and evaluation starts at the design phase, with a comprehensively formulated strategy linking the various policy and programme elements through clear objectives and indicators. The design will also include a specific participatory monitoring and evaluation approach that will build the necessary institutional capacity to continue the situation analysis for subsequent generations of the TBP.

1.6 TAKING ACTION: STEPS IN FORMULATING A NATIONAL TIME-BOUND PROGRAMME

This section outlines the likely stages a country will go through when formulating the national TBP for the elimination of child labour once a commitment has been made:

- Mobilise political commitment at the highest level;
- Establish priorities for the broad categories of hazardous child labour;
- Map the child labour situation using a participatory, consultative process and use a combination of Rapid Assessments (RAs), in-depth studies and sample survey methods;
- Set up a coordinating group of major stakeholders;
- Prepare a draft policy framework on the TBP consisting of: in-depth analysis of data; review of policies and policy constraints that may affect child labour; a draft of a document identifying policy options; a draft of a proposal on a TBP;
- Set priorities through a broad consultative process, the aim of which is to consult relevant stakeholders, share findings, benefit from their experiences;
- Finalize a policy paper and TBP, outlining a clear time-line for planning and implementation; and
- Prepare a draft document for presentation to a national workshop, in order to obtain final

comments and support. The plan should include objectives for the elimination of child labour, in particular its worst forms, clarify indicators and targets, define responsibilities of the actors involved and make proposals for the required human and financial resources necessary for implementation.

Understanding the causes and consequences of child labour is essential to the development, implementation and success of Time-Bound Programmes. **Section 2.1.** addresses the question “What is child labour?”, postulating that no universal definition exists. **Section 2.2.** provides an overview of the child labour market. **Section 2.3** discusses the supply of child labour and how it is affected by household poverty, the returns of work and education, as well as cultural factors. **Section 2.4** examines the demand for child labour. **Sections 2.5** and **Section 2.6** briefly discuss how economic growth impacts on child labour and how child labour interacts with macro-economic instability.

2.1 CHILD LABOUR AND ITS WORST FORMS: AN OVERVIEW

TBPs aim to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour, but not to prevent children from carrying out activities or work beneficial to their physical and mental development. No universal fit-for-all definition of child labour exists. In fact, “child labour” refers to all types of employment and work carried out by children below the standards enshrined in Conventions 138 and 182. These standards, however, are flexible – leaving a considerable margin of discretion to national authorities to determine, in consultation with social partners, whether or not activities are beneficial to a child’s development in the national or local context. Light work performed during a limited number of hours per week is not prohibited. Work in schools – while in principle subject to minimum age regulation – also is not prohibited, provided it is part of a programme of education, training or vocational guidance designed and supervised by a public authority in consultation with the social partners.

Why do children work and why should they not work?

Children work for predominantly economic and social reasons. Children work because their families are poor, mostly as a result of inadequate access to productive assets – be it skills, jobs, credit or land. They work because they perceive that the rewards received from labour are greater than those from education and/or because the quality of education is inadequate. Children work because of parental preferences, or because of employer preferences. Children should not work because child labour hampers economic growth through the lack of a qualified and skilled adult labour force. Investing in education, on the other hand, can significantly reduce child labour by improving the quality of schools, reducing the direct and indirect costs to families, and thereby encouraging students to return to school.

Why do children work in the worst forms of child labour?

Children work in hazardous occupations because opportunities for choosing safer forms of work are limited. Moreover, there is often a lack of knowledge on the part of children, parents, employers and influential persons in a community, such as teachers, religious and community leaders, about the risks to health and development of children.

In some cases, the problems are social, political or cultural as much as economic. Children from communities on the margins of society are easy prey for organized crime gangs bent on trafficking human beings or exploiting them by way of prostitution. Children involved in war are mostly the victims of ethnic rivalry or the fight for control over natural resources. And children in bonded labour often continue an age-old tradition of slavery. A programme targeted at the worst forms will therefore need to be fine-tuned to respond to the activities that predominate in any

context.

2.2 THE “CHILD LABOUR MARKET”

Child labour is undesirable, and its worst forms intolerable. Yet, children do offer services for which customers exist, more often than not in spite of moral and legal imperatives. Thus, an analysis of the forces of supply and demand is necessary to enhance our understanding of child labour.

The child labour market is defined as the intersection of the supply of and demand for child labour. To the extent that child labour and adult labour substitute for each other, they are in the same market. However, there are situations when this is not so. Some employers for instance, may prefer children, as small fingers are needed for the matchstick production, or small bodies required for narrow shafts in old mines. Children may also be preferred over adult workers, such as in prostitution, because they are easier to exploit.

While there are certainly cases of children being abducted and forced into prostitution, domestic work or service in armed conflict, most children work because of a conscious decision on their families' part. Sometimes, it is an unconstrained and purely rational decision based on the presumption that the returns of work exceed the returns of school attendance. Alternatively, it may be a constrained decision: The effective choice may be between work and starvation. Parents are even known to sell their children.

Both preferences and constraints regarding child labour may be modified over time as the result of social mobilisation, economic growth, developments in markets and institutions and changes in the technology and organisation of production. Policy interventions can be designed to directly address the outcome in a top-down legislative approach, e.g. a ban on child labour. Conversely, interventions may also act upon the preferences and constraints of parents and employers to produce outcomes lowering the prevalence of especially harmful forms of child labour. An advantage of the latter approach is that it addresses the *causes* rather than the *symptoms* of the problem. The legislative approach is likely to contribute to a reduction in the worst forms of child labour, but it is bound to be more effective if supported by direct action programmes, monitoring and social mobilisation.

The following two sections discuss the microeconomic determinants of supply and demand for child labour. They include a reference to how market and institutional developments – especially in credit and labour markets – can modify the relative strength of different underlying determinants. Macroeconomic or aggregate forces are then considered, including how they shape the environment in which these decisions are made. A final section outlines the individual and society-wide consequences of child labour.

2.3 THE SUPPLY OF CHILD LABOUR

Child labour is both a cause and a consequence of poverty. Poverty definitely forces children to work in order to meet the subsistence expenses of their households, to attenuate the risk of debts, bad harvests, illnesses or loss of work of the adult members. Worldwide, it is estimated that 1.2 billion people live in extreme poverty, on less than \$ 1 a day. They are almost entirely supported by the earnings of the 500 million workers among them, including child labourers.

These figures remained largely the same between 1990 and 1998, except for East Asia and the Pacific, which saw the numbers drastically reduced and the proportion of the population in

extreme poverty almost halved.⁷ The elimination of child labour should therefore be linked to efforts to reduce poverty. It requires a three-pronged strategy aimed at reducing family poverty through the creation of decent work opportunities for adult family members; at enlarging access to and improving the quality of education of children – especially girls – of poor families; and at introducing and applying labour market regulations.

As regards decent work opportunities for adult workers, the emphasis should be on promoting employment-friendly strategies within a sound macro-economic framework aimed at economic growth, on using the potential of job-creation within small and medium-sized enterprises, and on employment-intensive investment programmes.

While poverty produces child labour, the reverse is also true, and, seen in the context of the ILO's goal of providing decent work for all, should be considered seriously. A childhood lost to labour, without the child being given the opportunity to develop its potential, mortgages her or his future and will certainly condemn that child to poverty in adult life, thus perpetuating the vicious circle of poverty between generation, and perpetuating the social injustice done to those children. One could say that a decent childhood, without abuse and exploitation at work, is a precondition for a decent adult working life. This also makes economic sense, as, in the long term, no society can achieve sustainable economic development on the back of its children.

Household Poverty

When households are so poor that the earnings of the child are necessary to meet subsistence expenses, then the *only viable policy action is to address that poverty*. Investing in school quality will not draw children out of work because the household cannot afford the opportunity cost of schooling. Merely legislating against child labour and in favour of compulsory schooling will make children and their families worse off.

Such policies must complement the poverty alleviation programme (see Chapter 4). Appropriate policy choices hinge on an assessment of the nature of poverty. Is the nature of poverty primarily *transient*, e.g. cyclical or seasonal; *chronic* or structural; or *event-related*, as in the case of armed conflict or wars, floods and famines? Policy options may also include *credit* to assist households to make it through periods of transient poverty, tying credit to school attendance, and long-run policies designed to invest in reducing chronic poverty, or the introduction of social safety nets.

It is important to emphasise that poverty is defined not only by access to *private goods* but also by access to *common goods*. Households in villages where state-provided infrastructure includes potable water, electricity and roads are economically far better off than households with the same income but without these amenities. An example of this situation occurs in rural economies when children, as well as adult women, are heavily engaged in getting water from faraway sources.

Poverty impacts on children in various ways. Children may work to directly increase family income for subsistence, but they may also be part of a risk diversification strategy. Families dwelling on the poverty threshold are especially vulnerable to income shocks such as bad harvests or loss of work. Sending out more family members to work will diversify income sources, and thus provide a kind of insurance against such shocks. This strategy will apply particularly when families have no savings or ability to borrow, especially in a single-parent household.

⁷ *A Better World for All*, IMF/OECD/UN/WB, 2000

Children also may be forced into work because of parental debt. In the most extreme situations, a number of children are born to families that are already living in debt bondage under an employer's exploitative treatment. In order to reduce debts or simply to ensure family survival, children are forced to work. Such indebtedness also robs the parents of their decision-making power for their children's upbringing, rendering them unable to counter an employer's hold over their children. Such situations were common in Nepal under the Kamaiya system, which was abolished in July 2000. In the Malawi tobacco plantations, a land tenure system reminiscent of medieval land tenancy forces children to the fields at a very young age.

Even in less extreme circumstances, undeveloped credit markets will tend to increase the force of constraints. Limited access to capital markets not only perpetuates chronic poverty but also traps non-poor households in phases of poverty following income shocks. Poor households find it harder to acquire credit than better-off households, because they have fewer assets to offer as collateral and because they engage in riskier activities. Poverty then influences families to sell children into bonded labour in return for either a lump sum of money or debt repayment.

Fertility, poverty and child labour are interlinked. Large families are often poorer. Younger children from large families are both more likely to work and less likely to attend school. The vicious cycle of poverty is fed further by teenage pregnancy. Young teens who work and who tend to be poor also have children at a young age. They subsequently send their own children out to work due to low household income. Thus, the vicious cycle perpetuates itself.

Child labour can aggravate poverty by increasing unemployment or under-employment of adults, while putting downward pressure on wages. At the opposite extreme, however, child labour may facilitate adult employment. For example, many adults, especially women, are able to enter the job market because their children take on essential home tasks. Children working on their own account in the informal sector may have little effect on adult employment, filling niches that are not attractive to adults.

Returns of Work vs. School

Some children work, not because of absolute poverty but because they and their families perceive the benefits, both immediate and future, are greater than the benefits of education.

The returns from work can be defined as the current child wage rate coupled with the benefits of work experience, accruing into the future. Some of the worst forms of work attract relatively high income: soldiering, prostitution, and mining. Extricating individuals from these activities may therefore involve creating alternative livelihoods, such as an employment guarantee in the case of adults and an educational guarantee, with possible subsidies, in the case of children. Trying to decrease the child wage rate as the only means of discouraging such activities may be undesirable.

Turning to more general forms of child work, of which household-owned farms or small enterprises are the most common, the benefits of work experience may be high if children inherit these assets and remain in the same occupation once they are adults. A role for policy here is to increase information about and access to a diversity of jobs in and outside the community, to encourage inter-generational occupational mobility.

Children may follow in their parents' footsteps, sometimes for reasons of geographical proximity. This is the case when a factory or mine is a town's main employer. Other causes may be social marginalisation or exclusion, as seen with the children of sex workers who are more likely to enter sex work, or tradition, as in the case of the children of leather tanners who help out with

work from an early age.⁸

Imperfect labour markets strengthen the *incentives* faced by parents who own land or other assets and who may eventually put children to work on the farm. In particular, the more assets like land or livestock a household owns, the higher the marginal productivity of family labour (other things being equal, such as household size). In the absence of a well-functioning labour market, it may be difficult to substitute hired labour for family labour, creating an incentive for parents to employ their children.

Parents sometimes value child work. Many cultures nurture a belief that work is good for children's growth and development, for their upbringing and socialisation. While societies should determine, within international parameters, which types of work are acceptable, the worst forms of child labour should clearly not feature among them. This is reinforced by poor quality schooling in many developing countries. Consequently, policy action needs to focus on investments in the real and perceived returns of education.

Existing weaknesses

The link from the “world of education” to the “global campaign against child labour” is weak at all levels – from no reference to child labour in the Dakar Framework for Action to national development programmes for primary education having no visible impact on the problem of child labour. At the country level, there is often a complete divide between ministries implementing education programmes and ministries dealing with social protection, including child labour issues. The ramifications of this are: separate budgets, separate decision making structures, separate delivery mechanisms. This divide is not only found in countries where programmes are implemented, but in donor countries as well.

Conversely, the link from the “global campaign against child labour” to the “world of education” is weak as well. IPEC, for instance, has neither the capacity nor the mandate to work at the level of national education systems in terms of interventions or delivery, though policy advice is increasingly being sought.

Many specific reasons play a role in the failure of formal education systems to cater for the needs of children engaged in child labour or at risk:

- Structural divides, as described above;
- Social or cultural norms and attitudes towards education within the target group itself;
- Lack of relevance of curricula to local labour market opportunities;
- Curricula and educational practices more sensitive to the needs and aspirations of girls;
- Low quality of education, particularly in poor and/or rural areas;
- Inadequate support for teachers in the form of infrastructure, training and aids;
- Attitudes of teachers and decision makers in the education system;
- No mechanism for offsetting the opportunity cost for destitute families.

The last point is particularly important. In IPEC experience, it is very difficult to enroll ex-child workers in the educational system without in some way substituting the lost income from the child's work. This can be done in different ways: by picking up the indirect costs of education (books, uniforms, shoes, etc), free school meals, “food for education”, stipends, or even more indirectly by supporting income generation opportunities for adult members of the family. This kind of simultaneous targeting of the child and its family is particularly difficult if the delivery mechanisms for education and social protection are de-linked.

⁸ILO, *Targeting the Intolerable*, Geneva, 1997.

Education in Nepal

In spite of great efforts, the formal education system in Nepal is still not effectively targeting the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. Sixty percent of Nepal's population is literate, but literacy is unevenly distributed. Thirty out of the 63 social groups in Nepal have literacy rates below 30% and some communities have literacy rates below 5%. Only 6 social groups have a literacy rate above 60%. The literacy rate in the Kamaiya population (bonded labourers) was 15.7% in 1995.

Girls' education and WFCL (worst forms of child labour)

Considering that 60% of children out of school worldwide are girls, more efforts need to be made to address the special concerns and issues of girls. Their work is largely hidden, uncounted and unvalued (e.g. household chores, domestic servitude, agricultural work, home-based work). Often, parents prefer to invest in the education of their sons and not lose their daughters' critical contribution to the household economy, when faced with limited resources and many financial demands. Efforts to increase girls' education must go hand-in-hand with efforts to progressively eliminate child labour. Other factors that constrain girls' educational opportunities range from the distance to schools – which places girls' security at risk – to the provision of relevant and gender-sensitive curricula. In certain cultures, a girl's chance to go to school might depend on the availability of separate school facilities for girls or the presence of a female teacher.

Benefits of Education

In addition to the fact that educational interventions are central to the prevention and reduction of the WFCL, there are numerous benefits of education, which are worth summarising. For a child born into a household with limited economic assets, publicly funded education offers an escape from the poverty trap – a route to economic and social mobility. Education increases the probability of finding wage employment and also attracts a higher wage rate, once in employment. Educated parents are found to produce better outcomes for their children, even after adjusting for the level of household income.⁵ The social returns to education exceed the private returns. This is related, for example, to knowledge spillovers, to lower fertility and to more effective political participation. As in the case of other activities generating positive results, there is a clear efficiency-based case for government intervention in subsidizing education.

Primary Education and the Indian State of Kerala

The Indian State of Kerala has often been cited as an example of a place where girls and women have reaped the greatest benefits of increased primary education spending. In the early 1980s, the State government spent USD 1.60 per capita on primary education as compared to the USD 0.83 per capita average for all Indian States. This emphasis on primary education has resulted in literacy rates today as high as 94% for men, 86% for women and 98% for boys and girls 10-to-14 years. It has also lowered the drop out rate to close to zero and produced a child labour participation rate significantly lower than the national average. Kerala has half the infant mortality rate of the country as a whole as well as a fertility rate lower than the Indian average. This reinforces the causal relationship between a high level of educational achievement, particularly for women, and these lower fertility and infant mortality rates (Weiner 1991).

⁵ For instance, a fairly systematic finding in the recent literature on the micro-econometric analysis of developing country household surveys is that the children of educated mothers come from smaller families, are more likely to survive beyond the age of five, are generally healthier and are more likely to be enrolled in school.

Main barriers to education

The removal of barriers to basic education is urgently needed. Basic education in most countries is not completely free and in most developing countries schooling is not accessible to all children. Survey data suggest that many children are not enrolled in school due to the long distance, which is especially true for rural areas. Not only physical but also social distance might prevent a child from going to school. Villages in India, for example, are often divided into separate hamlets. Children from one hamlet may be reluctant or unable to go to school in another hamlet due to caste or other tensions. Girls' restricted freedom of movement exacerbates this problem of social distance.

While primary education in principle is "free" in many countries, there are still indirect costs to parents such as uniforms and textbooks. Parents who send their children to school incur not only the indirect costs but also the opportunity cost, which is the wage that the child would earn if the time at school were spent working. In situations where education is not affordable or parents see no value in education, families send children to work, rather than to school. This particularly affects children in poor families and those belonging to the culturally and socially disadvantaged and excluded groups, who easily become victims of child labour exploitation. Education policies generally do not make special provisions to accommodate the needs of these children or their families.

The recent PROBE survey on basic education in India has found that there is a massive popular demand for schooling by parents.⁹ They do not have, however, much faith in the school system's ability to impart a good education. In many countries, where schools are available, the quality of education is sometimes poor and the content taught is perceived as not relevant. Teachers and educators who are primarily responsible for providing education to children from poor families in rural or urban areas are faced with innumerable problems, such as lack of the most basic facilities, materials and support systems. Often, their working conditions are poor and they assume demanding workloads without adequate compensation and recognition for their efforts. Those structural problems – ranging from the poor quality of schooling to difficult working conditions for teachers – have the maximum impact on phasing out the WFCL should be identified and implemented on an urgent basis.

Cultural Values

Parental attitudes will play a major role sending a child to work. In some cases, parents have stated that they did not know the kind of work or the consequences of the work to which they were sending their children. For example, there are cases, namely in West Africa, where parents thought that their children were going to a good job in another region but were, in fact, working in domestic labour or prostitution.

It is inherently difficult to distinguish between pure altruism and reciprocity as motives for parents' investments in their children. Since investments in children take several years to mature and inter-generational agreements between parents and children are unlikely, reciprocity relies upon the parent's belief that their children will make transfers to them when they are old. Thus, dependence on children for old-age security may lead to higher fertility and, where household incomes are limited, to lower levels of investment in children.

Given that both childbirth and child survival involve uncertainty, it is likely that *public health investments that reduce child mortality*, combined with *wide-coverage pension schemes*, will contribute to the reduction of child labour in circumstances where parents do not hold out any

⁹ Albeit, parental motivation for girls' education is comparatively weaker.

expectation of acquiring returns from investing in their children, it is conceivable that they value their own current consumption above the future consumption of their children. In this case, the main policy options are *legislation and social mobilisation* (see Chapter 4).

As mentioned above, gender norms can restrict the opportunities available for girls, and thus the likelihood of them attending school. Many societies believe that it is good for girls to be trained as housekeepers, therefore rendering it acceptable to send girls out to work as domestics. In societies where girls suffer particularly severe discrimination, boys are given education while girls are sent to work. Boys are often sent to work outside the home where they are more visible than girls – for example to factory work instead of domestic labour – thus, boys may benefit disproportionately from interventions to increase school attendance. Other extremely vulnerable groups, such as ethnic minorities and social groups with limited rights, are among the most economically and socially excluded and have limited opportunity.

Rapid social change and desire for material goods can be a strong push factor into child labour. Societies facing rapid social change find that media representations of material wealth travel much faster to poor areas than does development itself. It is not only parents who push their children into child labour, including its worst forms. Indeed, children themselves often decide that they wish to remove themselves from the monotony of poverty and seek employment in urban areas with dreams of cash to purchase new clothes, make-up, etc. Historically, developed economies were able to come to grips with child labour by creating productive, well-paid jobs in the formal sector. This resulted in slower population growth, a more prosperous population and a social fabric that allowed little room for exploitation of children.

These factors underlying child labour supply are not mutually exclusive. It is useful to investigate which of these is predominant in any particular region and time. The *history* and *geography* of child labour offer some support for the poverty explanation. However, there is evidence from field studies and from household survey data that the incidence of child labour in households above the poverty line is not insignificant. In some cases, and especially for girls, this appears to be the result of low educational returns. Overall, the existing evidence indicates some role for each of the factors discussed. Case-by-case data analysis is necessary in order to establish a ranking of alternative policies in any region. Rapid Assessments (RAs) provide further in-depth information essential for understanding the causes of child labour in particular sectors or regions, which are crucial when planning interventions.

2.4 THE DEMAND FOR CHILD LABOUR

On the demand side, employers make the decision to hire children, choosing against the alternatives of hiring men and women, or using machines to do equivalent work. For the majority of working children in developing countries, the employer is a parent. At first glance, this may seem to be the least harmful and exacting type of child employment. However, the class of employers also includes abusive and exploitive individuals, including criminals involved in illegal trade or trafficking. Usually the worst forms of child labour are all outside the home and these are the priority areas relevant to the TBP.

Generally, child labour is an imperfect substitute for unskilled adult labour in production. Most employers care only about the effective cost of work and will prefer children if and only if they are *effectively* cheaper. In principle, a well-functioning labour market should equalise effective wages – that is, wages adjusted for productivity. If children are not as productive as adults, lower wages reflect lower skill level. In areas where a minimum salary has been imposed by trade union pressure or state policy, employers are more likely to hire adults because of the gain in productivity. Just as women continue to be paid less than men for equal work, children may be

paid disproportionately less than adults, even for the same productivity. This certainly is the case if children are employed because they are easier to manipulate.

Case studies of working children highlight their low wages and poor working conditions. Working conditions for adults may not necessarily be better, but it is implicit that adults are making a decision for themselves, whereas children are vulnerable to adults taking that decision for them. Children also are more sensitive to environmental hazards. Properly enforced legislation is thus all the more necessary to protect children against exploitation and preserve their human rights. Other societal elements generally being equal, it is clear that the better developed the legal and regulatory institutions, the better protection there is for children at work (see chapter 4).

In some cases, it is argued that children represent a superior substitute for adult labour, for example in small spaces such as mines or chimneys. A number of studies have now refuted the "nimble fingers" argument in the Indian carpet weaving industry and other similar fallacies. If child labour is not viewed as a necessity to the production process, there will be one less barrier to its elimination.

2.5 THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH ON CHILD LABOUR

Economic growth and inequality

Faith in *economic growth* has been modified in the last two decades by two important developments, for which there is fairly widespread theoretical and empirical support: a bigger gross domestic product is not *automatically* pro-poor, so active policies are required to ensure that wealth is distributed and poverty reduction is addressed alongside growth. Next, human capital is an important complement to physical capital in producing growth. It has the further advantage that it generates positive externalities and that health and education are of intrinsic as well as of instrumental value. Child labour involves both of these considerations. It is one example of a *poverty trap*, in that poverty can cause child labour and child labour perpetuates poverty across generations. Since child labour clearly reduces human capital accumulation, it results in a loss of welfare to both *the child and society*, limiting the overall growth potential of the economy.

Will economic growth spontaneously deliver the elimination of child labour? Economic growth can be an advantage to a country committed to reducing child labour but concerted action is required to direct its effects towards increasing the well being of the poor. In particular, the effects of economic growth are often not linear: child labour may initially increase before it decreases, but not *quickly* enough to be acceptable.

For clarity in this matter, it is necessary to analyse the mechanisms through which economic growth can impact child labour. It should be noted that this analysis must consider the national economy as a whole and aim for harmonization of a range of individual national policies that may affect child labour.

Economic growth can finance greater public spending

Economic growth in the formal sector will tend to raise the taxable surplus. This makes funds available to governments that could be used for the development of a health and education infrastructure. A policy regime committed to eliminating the worst forms of child labour will direct funds toward this end.

Economic growth is associated with technological change

Economic growth is typically associated with technological change, an increased total demand for labour, as well as an increase in the relative demand for skilled labour. Since children are usually unskilled, the relative demand for child labour tends to decrease. Thus, on average, child labour participation may be expected to decrease.

This aggregate picture is consistent with one sector of society experiencing an increase in child labour¹⁰ while another sector experiences a decrease. The net effect on child labour depends on the *nature* of economic growth, for example, on which sector is driving growth, e.g. export sectors, labour-intensive industries or rural regions. It is also likely that economic growth increases the visibility of child labour, for example, by transferring some of it from rural to urban centres, but this may not actually mean an increase in child participation in work. However, since growth usually involves an expansion of industry and a shrinking of the workforce employed in agriculture, the nature of work initially becomes more hazardous and labour standards and inspection policies need to be updated and enforced.

Box: 2.1 Technology vs. Legislation

Technology vs. Legislation: The Historic Viability of Child Labour and The Mines Act of 1842

In an interesting analysis of child labour in mining in historical England, Peter Kirby (2000) shows that the decline in child participation in this sector was most closely associated with the introduction of new technology. In the regions of England which adopted the new technology most slowly, the decline in child participation was also slower than in other regions. In this case, children appeared to be preferred to adults simply because they were small enough to crawl through the passages in the mines. Around the time that new technology was adopted in mines, new legislation was enforced, banning children and women from working in mines (the Mines Act of 1842). Some historians have attributed the decline in child labour in this industry to social reform embodied in this legislation. Kirby argues that the legislation was a secondary force, tying loose ends to what technological progress had achieved.

Economic growth alters the incentive to work

This premise can develop in different directions since it comprises at least three tendencies. *First*, by virtue of increasing total labour demand, growth will tend to raise wage rates and thereby the opportunity cost of not working. In other words, growth will encourage work, including child work, by increasing the reward for working.¹¹ *Second*, with the rise in adult or parent wages, the compulsions driving children to work are relaxed. *Third*, the rising demand for skill and the rising information requirements imposed by technological change will tend to increase the return to schooling. If the latter two factors dominate, growth has the effect of reducing the incentives that send children to work.

Economic growth can influence attitudes

Social norms determining whether child labour is acceptable may change. More generally, an intolerance of inequality tends to emerge in the later stages of development. Change in social norms can contribute to the emergence of a stronger *legal system* with a wider reach. *Social mobilisation* can accelerate these processes.

¹⁰ For example, the children of unskilled adults may have to work harder if their parents lose their jobs to more appropriately skilled workers. However, since the total number of jobs in the economy is on the rise, this effect should not be very large.

¹¹ This is a large part of the story of women's labour force participation having increased dramatically in this century. However the influences of parent wages and school returns that are subsequently.

To the extent that the cumulative effect of these growth-produced changes reduces child labour, a *virtuous circle* may be established because a more educated population increases economic growth. In addition to each member of the population having a higher earning capacity once educated, there are *acknowledge spillovers*, or related benefits to society that exceed the sum of the benefits to each individual. Education, especially if evenly spread across gender and across regions in a country, promotes democracy and, thereby, a political mechanism for sustained social change.

2.6 ECONOMIC DOWNTURN AND MACRO-ECONOMIC INSTABILITY

From the foregoing, it is evident that economic growth can facilitate efforts aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labour. The reverse is also true, in that long periods of poor economic performance may make it difficult to overcome the problem. Other things being equal (e.g., absence of efficient income redistribution schemes), economic stagnation may limit poverty alleviation through weak or negative employment growth and greater constraints on the public provision of social services. Furthermore, periods of economic crisis are likely to coincide with significant increases in child labour, as underscored by recent evidence from South-East Asia, where huge job losses helped to reverse past gains in poverty eradication and contributed to huge reductions in purchasing power. At the same time, cuts in social spending further limited access to education and health care among poor families.

This emphasizes the need to look not just at the impact of an economic downturn, but also at the effects of other kinds of unfavourable macro-economic trends. In general, policies or events that lead to macro-economic instability may impact negatively on employment or real wages and thus contribute to the worsening of child labour. Thus, in most poor countries with child labour problems, there are linkages between fiscal, monetary and trade policies and their outcomes, on the one hand, and child labour. Moreover, policies aimed at addressing macro-economic instability and structural imbalances in the economy, such as structural adjustment programmes, may also contribute to the worsening of poverty and child labour, if care is not taken to avoid undesirable impacts on vulnerable groups, or unless they are, at least, accompanied by adequate social protection measures.

2.7 THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

The discussion thus far has centred on child labour in general. How relevant is the discussion to children involved in the activities defined as the worst forms in Convention No. 182? While the *proximate* causes of the incidence of certain worst forms of child labour are likely to be quite specific and are highlighted below, the *ultimate* causes are likely to be similar to the ultimate causes of other forms of child labour. Societies that have high average levels of income, social support for the poor, universal access to well-functioning educational systems, social and labour legislation, and a monitoring mechanism very seldom have children working in a hazardous environment. Technological developments in those societies, together with legislation, for example, have virtually eliminated hazardous work in industry and mines for children (see Box 2.1.) and greatly reduced the hazards faced by working adults.

Other than the pernicious effect of exploitation on children, the worst forms of child labour have little in common with each other, as the following brief overview indicates.

Debt Bondage

Slavery is far from extinct today, and survives in one of its forms as debt bondage. Such bondage can be inherited, as in the case when one bonded labourer gives birth to another. Or it can be temporary, such as when a parent places a child in service for a limited period, in exchange for much needed cash. In many circumstances, the entry into debt bondage may be consensual, but is undertaken with a misguided understanding of the time horizon involved in the arrangement. The nature of employment often evolves into one of force and enslavement, as debts are deepened and work extended. When national borders are crossed, illegal immigrants become dependent on their employers, fearing forceful repatriation. This has been true, for example, of certain Haitian sugar cane cutters in the Dominican Republic.

Debt bondage is caused by a mixture of extreme poverty, the willingness of individuals to exploit such desperation, and unenlightened tradition. Poor families may agree to poorly paid labour because of an immediate need for cash to meet social or religious obligations or simply to survive. Debt payment through work almost invariably lasts much longer than the original set time, causing the total debt to increase. The poor and the disenfranchised are often the ones who suffer most. In India, for example, the vast majority of bonded labourers come from the untouchable classes and the indigenous communities¹². In Nepal, the Kamaiya bonded labourers came from the economically marginalized Tharu tribe.

The increasing need for cash in rural economies, population growth, rapid urbanization and increased poverty lead parents to seek ways to improve their own and their children's lives. Some parents believe that their children will be better off with a more privileged family than their own and are willing to exchange their children's services for an assurance of their subsistence. Sometimes the children are sent away in exchange for money, some are even sent off for free, only to be abused and mistreated instead of being taken care of by their employers.

Bonded labour has been associated with abduction and family separation, the deprivation of schooling and sustenance, extremely long hours of arduous work and physical and emotional abuse. This often leads to grave physical and psycho-social consequences, including severe anxiety and depression, malnutrition, vitamin deficiency, anaemia, tuberculosis, skin and parasitic disease.

Children in armed conflict

The forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict is another contemporary form of slavery. Children enter armed conflicts as part of the armed forces, paramilitary forces or armed opposition groups via conscription, abduction or plain force. Once child soldiers, they serve as porters, cooks, lookouts, messengers, combatants, and sex slaves.

Government or rebel armies around the world have recruited, for use in armed conflicts, tens of thousands of children. Most are adolescents, though child soldiers have been known to be 10 years of age or younger. While the majority are boys, girls also are recruited.

As with other worst forms of child labour, the poorest and most disenfranchised communities face the highest risk of exploitation.¹³ In some countries without formal government conscription, children are picked up off the street, from schools and orphanages and forced to serve. Hunger

¹² Anti-Slavery International, *Debt Bondage: Slavery around the World*, London, December 1998.

¹³ See United Nations, *Impact of armed conflict on children*. Report of the expert of the Secretary-General, by G. Michel, submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 48/157. August 1996.

and poverty may drive parents to offer their children for service in return for their wages. Children from wealthier and more educated families are at much less risk because their parents can send them to another country for protection. Lack of quality education may lead parents to believe that there are no better alternatives for their children. In Afghanistan, for example, where approximately 90 % of children now have no access to schooling, the proportion of child soldiers is thought to have risen in recent years from roughly 30% to at least 45%.

Some children join voluntarily, driven mostly by the desire for food, clothing and medical attention. Others are moved by ideological belief, as in the case of the anti-apartheid campaign in South Africa. Some children feel obliged to become soldiers for their own protection, feeling that they are safer with guns in their hands amid the chaos that defines their lives.

A roughly estimated 300,000 children around the world are used in armed conflict. With respect to the consequences, UNICEF data indicates that during the decade between 1986 and 1996, armed conflicts killed 2 million children, injured 6 million, traumatised over 10 million and left more than a million orphaned¹⁴. For those who survive, many lose their families and possessions, only to gain in their stead an acceptance of violence as a legitimate way of achieving their aims. Moreover, children in armed forces are deprived of the normal opportunities for physical, emotional and intellectual development.

Girl soldiers who have been raped or sexually abused, are often rejected by their families, and have few prospects of marriage. With so few alternatives, many girls eventually become victims of prostitution.

Prostitution

One million children in Asia are victims of the sex trade¹⁵, and the numbers are increasing in Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. Children are being trafficked across borders for sex markets worldwide.¹⁶

Children who enter the sex trade often come from vulnerable groups that are either economically depressed or politically unstable. In Thailand, for example, most underage sex workers come from the poorer neighbouring countries of Burma, Cambodia and Laos. Parents may be lured by the modest sums offered by contractors to pay for a girl's employment, and they consent with the impression that their job will be honest and well paid. Their initial vulnerability becomes even more marked upon arrival at their destination where they do not speak the language, have illegal status, are forced to work in the sex industry and are, therefore, at the mercy of their pimps.

There are situations where the children themselves want to live life in the city and run away from rural poverty. In their search for money, they turn to prostitution to survive. In some Sub-Saharan countries deeply affected by the AIDS epidemic, children are finding themselves orphaned at a young age. The eldest of the family, who may be only 10 or 12, then shoulders the responsibility for providing for younger siblings, and many turn to prostitution upon finding no economically viable alternatives.¹⁷

While the supply of child labour is born of poverty and desperation, demand is created by

¹⁴ Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Implementation of Resolution 1261 (1999) on children and armed conflict, July 2000.

¹⁵ United Nations, 1996 *Report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography*, Geneva 1997.

¹⁶ P.Boonpala, *Strategy and action against the commercial sexual exploitation of children*, ILO/IPEC, Geneva, 1996.

¹⁷ UNICEF and UNAIDS. Orphan report. 1999.

lucrative markets that line the pockets of criminals, corrupt police personnel, pimps and even the children's relatives. Lax law enforcement and loose border patrols allow the industry to flourish. Clients often come from countries where such practices are strongly sanctioned.

Children who work as prostitutes suffer from the violence inflicted by their customers, early pregnancy, maternal mortality, sexually-transmitted diseases including AIDS, psychological problems, and discrimination for the work they are engaged in¹⁸. Often, the discrimination is the most detrimental to a child's psychological well-being, sinking all feelings of self-worth into desperation.

Trafficking

It is believed that there are five major international networks of trafficking in children: from Latin America to Europe and the Middle East, from South and South East Asia to northern Europe and the Middle East, a European regional market, an associated Arab regional market, and a West African export market in girls. Traditionally, the term "trafficking of children" has referred to the displacement of children for sexual exploitation. The sex industry is not, however, the only reason that children are removed from their homes for pitiful sums to travel long distances. In Western Africa, for example, children are also trafficked to participate in commercial agriculture, domestic labour, and street cleaning.¹⁹

As relates to other worst forms of child labour mentioned above, children are trafficked because of existing poverty that makes children and their families vulnerable to deceitful offers by agents in search of cheap and malleable child labour. Weak laws, lax enforcement, corrupt border police, and lack of information, facilitate trafficking and subsequent exploitation of children. In addition, the advantages of child labour, both real and perceived, maintain the demand, while developed trafficking routes are sustained by the economic benefits inherent in such morally outrageous trading.²⁰

Depending on the jobs that the trafficked children participate in, differing harms ensue. Many children suffer the consequences mentioned under the bonded labour and prostitution sections, namely physical and psychological harm.

Children trafficked to commercial agriculture suffer from long working hours, exposure to the sun, work related injuries such as cuts, bruises, fractures, and exposure to toxic substances.²¹ Children who are trafficked to domestic work suffer from long working hours, poor sleeping conditions, limited food of poor quality, exposure to heavy loads, very little or no salary, and verbal, physical and sexual abuse.

Most of the trafficked children, regardless of the work they are forced into, are isolated, deprived of the love that a family can give to nourish their journey into adulthood, and are stripped of educational opportunities that may have improved their chances for the future. Physical and psychological abuse is worsened by their complete dependence on their employer who effectively controls their movements within and outside their new living conditions.

Hazardous child labour

¹⁸ Combating the most intolerable forms of child labour: a global challenge. Background document prepared for the Amsterdam Child labour Conference, 26-27 February 1997.

¹⁹ ILO, *Targeting the Intolerable*, op.cit.

²⁰ ILO, *Targeting the Intolerable*, pink facts sheets, op.cit.

²¹ V. Forestieri, *Children at Work: Health and safety risks*, op.cit.

Although certain industries will be the focus of a TBP, any form of child labour can become hazardous, depending on working conditions. The definition of hazardous work is outlined in Chapter 1. The more hazardous the child labour, the more extreme the consequences.

The impact of child labour on the health and development of a child depends on factors related to the type of work the child is engaged in, the conditions of that work, employer treatment, hours of work, and the opportunity to attend school. The impact also depends on the child's own vulnerability. For example, a malnourished child with little physical resistance will suffer more from work hazards than a healthy child.²²

Working children may suffer from fatigue, musculo-skeletal disorders, cuts, fractures, burns, malnutrition, poisoning, infectious disease, psychological harm, and even death.²³ These are caused by poor sanitary conditions, inadequate or non-existent personal protective equipment, inappropriate workspace and installations, physical strains, long hours and low pay.²⁴ In addition, many children working in the informal sector remain invisible to the public. Their work is neither regulated by labour laws nor is it monitored by labour inspectors. They have little legal recourse in the event of injury or injustice, and cannot join unions, as these are traditionally for workers in the formal sector, with membership limited to adults. For these reasons, the long-term impact of children's hazardous work exposures remains invisible and under-researched.

Children, by virtue of their youth, lack experience. They often do not have the speed and the skill they need to avoid hazards. An ILO supported survey in the Philippines demonstrated that 60% of child workers were exposed to chemical and biological hazards, while 40% had suffered serious injuries or illnesses resulting in amputation or mutilation.

Children are affected by chemical substances and radiation at lower levels than those affecting adults. This is because children have a higher metabolic rate and may consume airborne toxins at a faster rate than adults. In spite of this biological difference, workplace exposure limits are set at adult levels and even these are often not respected. Children also suffer from fatigue more than adults, but do not get more rest time and have longer periods to accumulate the exposures that may affect them in their adulthood.

Lack of protective equipment is another issue of concern. Protective equipment is designed to fit adults, not children. When child-fitting protective equipment does exist, children are not often familiar with its use and do not fully understand the dangers they may face if they remain unprotected. The result is that children are often left exposed, suffering from a series of occupational injuries such as burns, cuts, electric shocks, sprains, broken bones, loss of limbs, eyesight, or hearing damage.

Children also are more vulnerable to psychological abuse than adults. Psychological stress may be caused by employer mistreatment, which can lead to further problems. For example, there are many cases of domestic workers who leave their abusive employer's home, only to find themselves on the street, with prostitution as their only alternative for survival.

2.8 CAN THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR BE ELIMINATED?

Assuming that with these few lines we have come to a better understanding of child labour and

²² ILO, *Mauritius: studies on the social dimension of Globalisation/Task Force on Country Studies on Globalisation*, eds. R. Anker, R. Paratian, R. Torres, C. Enzler, ILO, Geneva, 1999.

²³ V. Forastieri, *Children at Work: Health and safety risks*, ILO, Geneva, 1997.

²⁴ See: ILO, *Practical action to eliminate child labour*, Geneva, 2000.

its worst forms and why they should be eliminated, the question remains: “Can it be done? Is it feasible ?”

As with most political and social projects, the answer is: “we won’t know before we’ve done it, but the nobility and necessity of the cause force us to try all the same.” Whoever takes the lead is not likely to be isolated. Polio and small pox have been eliminated in many countries by implementing vaccination programmes and by large-scale public health campaigns. The fact that the worst forms of child labour inflicts serious and lasting harm upon children, adults and communities alike – and that they are economically unproductive and morally abhorrent – makes political co-operation and social mobilization so much easier.

A fundamental challenge to implementation of a TBP is the difficulty of generating critical information on children in the worst forms of child labour. This is because:

- a) these activities are either illegal or in the informal sector or both; and
- b) the child may not be living at home and will, therefore, appear unregistered in household and labour force surveys.

Working with community-based groups that are familiar with the area is a promising alternative. Many governments already voluntarily consult community organisations, and the fact that C. 182 explicitly encourages governments to involve “concerned groups” in the design and implementation of programmes of action may motivate further exploration of this method in TBPs.

Obviously, some TBPs may face less hindrance than others. To the extent that participation in some of the worst forms of child labour is **socially rooted**, a further challenge to feasibility arises from the complexity of altering an entire social context. Therefore, it may prove easier to eradicate child work in hazardous industries than in prostitution and bonded labour; and it may be easier to prevent entry into harmful activities than it will be to extricate and rehabilitate children that are already engaged in these activities.

Yet, the experience built up over the last nine years by IPEC shows that child labour can be reduced and eliminated effectively and sustainably. Not only with pilot projects – but for entire industries or complete geographical areas – countries have managed with the help of IPEC to get child workers out of factories or workshops, and into schools, with accompanying measures to improve employment and incomes for parents and to prevent siblings from ending up in child labour.

3

Situation Analysis & Indicators

Situation analysis refers to the process of identifying, collecting and analysing relevant information to determine the nature of the child labour problem and its causes. It requires information and indicators at various levels and from various sources –as well as appropriate instruments for collecting and analysing them.

Chapter 3 is divided into four main sections. **Section 3.1** explains why it is important to undertake situation analysis as a prerequisite to an effective TBP. **Section 3.2** outlines the specific information required. **Section 3.3** provides an overview of the sources and methods of data collection. **Section 3.4** explains the process of conducting a situation analysis.

3.1 WHY WE NEED SITUATION ANALYSIS

An essential component of the TBP is to build a knowledge base regarding the worst forms of child labour, in order to understand the dynamics and scope of the problem. This knowledge base includes knowing which children are working (**who**), what they are doing (**what**), where they are doing it (**where**), when they are working and how it influences schooling (**when**), and what are the root causes of worst forms of child labour (**why**). Box 3.1 summarises the value of such information for developing a TBP. This set of information relates more to the working children themselves. However, a thorough analysis requires knowledge of issues external to the affected child, such as other intervention programmes and efforts in place, and information relevant for programme implementation, including partners and local institutions and their implementation capacity.

Box 3.1 Types of Information and their value for developing a TBP

<u>Knowledge Need</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>Value of this knowledge for developing TBP</u>
Who?	Which children and how many are working? Boys, girls, caste, ethnicity, etc.	Needed to target policy
What?	What kinds of work are they doing? Not just activities, but also working conditions.	Help establish priorities, describe the nature of the situation.
Where?	In what parts of the country are these forms of child labour taking place? Includes both place of occurrence, as well as source of the labour.	Important for targeting.
When?	Time of day, school year (season) number of hours.	Consequences.
Why?	What are the root causes of children being in the worst forms of child labour?	Necessary for design interventions.

Situation analysis therefore becomes indispensable for developing a coherent and integrated TBP, as can be illustrated by the four major stages; namely:

- a) understanding the magnitude and causes of the worst forms of child labour;
- b) determining the strategic objectives of the TBP;
- c) selecting types of interventions – signing and targeting programmes; and
- d) implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes.

These points are briefly elaborated below.

Understanding the magnitude and causes of the worst forms of child labour. This begins by relating a set of basic causes of child labour to the most appropriate interventions against them. There are many different paths that lead children to the worst forms of child labour. Most causes are of an economic or social nature. In some cases, the children will secure a livelihood for their families, or are perceived to acquire income-generating skills; in others, they will be lured away with false promises, or perhaps abducted. Such children may also be used to pay off debt, either through bonded labour or by working to raise money for the debt payments. Each reason, factor or cause of child labour leads to different policy priorities. It is only by uncovering the various causes through careful data collection and situation analysis that the most appropriate and effective policies and programmes can be implemented.

Determining the strategic objectives of the TBP. Based on an understanding of the problem, the next step is to state the overall strategic objectives to be achieved and then determine the best mix of policies and programmes, from among all possible options, that will help attain these goals. Box 3.2 provides an example of the link between some factors relevant to child labour and the possible interventions.

Box 3.2 EXAMPLES OF FACTORS RELEVANT TO CHILD LABOUR AND POSSIBLE INTERVENTIONS

Factor	Indicator/Information	Policy/Intervention Programme
Schools		
Access	Reason why child works: educational institution too far. (I) Distance to nearest school on a community questionnaire. (C)	Construction of schools. Access could also relate to coordination of school day--if children work during the day, it may be that children could also attend school if classes were held in the late afternoons or evenings.
Cost	Cost of education (tuitions, PTAs, etc)	School fees: Review of policy of financing education within the context of national macro economic framework.
Relevance	Reason why child works: educational not suitable. (I)	Curriculum design, make content more locally relevant. Teaching of more applied work skills. Educate parents on potential value of education for children.
Quality	Spending per pupil and pupil-teacher ratio. (N) Comparative analysis of quality of education quality across communities within a country. Correlation between school quality and probability of working.	Encourage greater spending on educational institutions and curriculum design.
Debt	Reason child works: repay debt under contractual arrangement. (I) Add more questions about debt, sources of credit and insurance.	Public or NGO-sponsored credit or insurance programmes, especially to deal with short term economic needs or income shocks.
Poverty	Income, relative to the poverty line (I) Poverty rate (N)	Promote adult employment, sustainable livelihoods. Income grants for households with structural problems of poverty, such as poor health or disability. Also, explore provision of

		economic incentives: PROGRESA programme in Mexico 'pays' children to go to school.
Volatile Income	Shocks to income or sudden expenditure needs (health expenses, etc.) at family or household level	Public or NGO-sponsored credit or insurance programmes, especially to deal with short term economic needs or income shocks. Strengthen households' ability to cope with shocks: credit, savings, insurance, etc.
High fertility	Child labour, by family size. (I) Total fertility Rate. (N) Contraceptive Prevalence Ratio (N) Whether households have a need for family planning services, as well as availability.	Family planning programmes. Programmes to educate parents about the benefits of smaller families. Efforts at reducing risks of infant mortality, which will correspondingly then lower fertility rates.
Parental attitudes and perceptions	Reason child works: educational not suitable and the difference between boys and girls. (I) Attitudes about child labour, perceptions of education and goals for children.	Information and education programmes to promote the value of education for children especially as relates to gender differences.
Demand for labour: Home	Reason child works: assist household enterprise. If adults are ill, injured or disabled, then children must perform their work around the household or family enterprise.	Use of labour saving devices. Labour market wage subsidies to encourage farmers to hire workers rather than use own children. For households with disabled/deceased adults, income support grants so children don't have to work on family enterprise.
Demand for labour: Outside Work	Mechanization indicator, capital/labour ratio (N). Need more information on firms. (F)	Labour market wage subsidies to encourage farmers to hire workers rather than use own children. Promote technology that enhances relative productivity of adults.

Level at which indicator operates: I: Individual (or household); F: Firm; C: Community; N: National

An elaborate situation analysis should be able to bring out the relevant factors and therefore and improve the effectiveness of the responding policies.

- **Selecting types of interventions: Designing and targeting policies and programme interventions.** Resources for combating child labour are limited and thus programmes should be tailored and targeted towards the most desperate situations and in a way that will achieve the greatest impact. Where available information on child labour has been sufficiently disaggregated (for example, by region/locality, gender, industry, occupation, educational background, etc.), it is possible then to isolate the most critical for action.

For example, knowing where children work is important for targeting withdrawal and rehabilitation efforts, as well as for identifying the demand for child labour. Knowing the origin of the child will allow us to identify children at risk, including information such as region, age, gender, caste/ethnicity, and socio-economic status. Analysis of data on children currently involved in the worst forms of child labour will help to create a reliable profile. Interventions should be targeted not just at those children currently involved in the worst forms of child labour (rescue and rehabilitation), but must also address the root causes and aim at prevention. As with any kind of problem, one must address the fundamental causes, not just the symptoms, in order to avoid a revolving syndrome.

Implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes. It is essential to have knowledge related to implementation capacity, as well as relevant partners and co-operative implementing agencies. Monitoring and evaluation requires constant updating of knowledge at all levels for continuous assessment of progress in reaching target groups and achieving demonstrated

sustainable impact.

3.2 SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE REQUIREMENTS

Common Variables

The framework set forth by the Conventions 138 and 182 and accompanying Recommendations leads to two distinct key measures. The first is whether a child is 'economically active', (or a 'child worker'). This is a very general definition, encompassing any work for pay, or unpaid family or domestic work. The second measure is specifically child labour, meaning that the child's work is inconsistent with the principles under the Conventions and Recommendations, namely that the child is below the minimum age for a given industry or type of work, or the child works excessive hours or under bad conditions or performs work that is potentially harmful.

While child labour (and definitely its worst forms) is clearly of greater concern, any policy that also has an effect on reducing child work also would be valuable. Thus it is important to consider it as well. Therefore, in order to reach an understanding of the child labour situation within a particular area, choices must be made about the important variables on which information should be gathered. These include the following:

- An estimate of the incidence of the worst forms of child labour in an area, and a preliminary understanding of the kinds of work children do there;
- Working conditions of children in the area or in a particular occupation within it, including work processes and their physical effects, hours, place of work, rates of pay, relation to the employer, living conditions, etc. (this can include children working as family workers as well);
- Characteristics of the working children, their families and communities, their migration and work histories, and the influences that resulted in their working;
- The relation between school and work, the attitudes toward education of children and parents, the forces, pressures and attitudes that push children in one direction or the other, and the availability and condition of schools in an area. The information may also include school enrolment in the area, access to schools, financing education, etc;
- The extent of hazardous, unhealthy or morally unsound or illicit conditions in child work in the area, the numbers of children involved in them, the pathways that led to those occupations, the chances for improvement or removal of the children from those conditions, the desire for rehabilitation, etc;
- Determination of suitable bases for initiating programmes and interventions by governments, NGOs, etc. – including an appraisal of existing resources and agencies that can help address problems.

The information collected on these variables can be obtained and presented at three levels, namely: (a) the national analytical level; (b) programme/policy (intervention) level; and (c) impact assessment and evaluation. In each case, the data can be presented in five categories as follows:

- a) The Child**
 - Characteristics (age, gender, mental and physical health, etc.)
 - Basic Learning Competencies (literacy, numeric and life skills)
 - Activities (economic and non-economic activities, school, leisure)
 - Attitudes (for example will they accept help, or will they resist efforts to remove them from worst forms of child labour?)
- b) The Household**
 - Family characteristics (demographic composition)
 - Socio-economic status (income, wealth, assets, land)
 - Parental perceptions (valuation and attitudes towards education, goals for children, awareness of worst forms of child labour, attitudes against worst forms of child labour)
- c) Working Conditions**
 - Workplace characteristics (sector, size, type of employment, characteristics of work, arrangements, technology)
 - Hazards faced by children (occupational accidents and diseases, ergonomic hazards, harmful substances and sources of exposure, exposure to physical agents and psychological hazards)
 - Interactions with others
- d) The Community Infrastructure** (wells, roads, sources of fuel)
 - Health and Sanitation (primary health care facilities, family planning services, general health situation, and availability of sufficient food and water)
 - Attitudes (regarding schooling, gender, awareness of worst forms of child labour, attitudes against worst forms of child labour, degree of mobilization against worst forms of child labour, community participation on social issues)
 - Schools (presence, distance, access, cost, quality, teacher characteristics, monitoring)
 - Local economy (income distribution, land ownership, capacity of local government, adult labour markets, types of industry/employment, technology, availability of vocational training)
- e) Contextual indicators/factors external to the household**
 - Political (participation, democracy, commitment to programmes, principles of good governance)
 - Legal (legal framework (criminal, education, labour), enforcement capacity.
 - Demographic (fertility rate, mortality rate, population growth rate, contraceptive availability/use/attitudes)
 - Socio-economic (poverty, wealth, inequality)
 - Economy (employment rates, industry, trade)
 - Education (male/female literacy rates, total expenditures)

Indicators

From the information generated (at national, programme, and intervention levels), it is possible to develop indicators of child labour. The purpose of the development of indicators on child labor is to help achieve the following goals:

- a) make an accurate assessment of the magnitude of the problem of child labor as it exists now;
- b) establish and examine patterns that may point out potential factors and causes of child labor;

- c) aid in the design of programs intended to address child labor and identify priorities within countries. The results will be useful to policy-makers, advocates and researchers within and outside the participating countries. It will also serve as a focal point for advocates, by establishing a database and accompanying documents to focus international efforts and attention on the issue of child labor.

The goal is to create indicators which are easy to calculate, understand and interpret, and which have comparability over time. The ideal measures should draw attention to the forms of child labor most hazardous to children. The measures should also be gender-sensitive. Often, activities, especially around the household, are labelled as work for boys and chores for girls. But at their core, the activities of girls around the home can be as hazardous and time-consuming (and thus potentially in conflict with schooling) as all other forms of child labour, so special care must be taken in assessing this often-unrecognised form of child labour.

Box 3.3 gives examples of indicators from the four main clusters, namely: Work, Incidence and Magnitude; Correlates and Causes of Child Labour; Consequences; and Contextual Indicators.

Box 3.3 Proposed Detailed Indicators of Child Labour

Category	Indicators	Definition	Source of Information
Indicator Set 1. Work: Incidence and Magnitude			
CHILD LABOUR	Number of children involved By: Age Group; Gender; Region; Rural/Urban; Type of workplace (workshop, family, domestic work)	The number of children who reported to have worked either for pay (cash or in-kind), or unpaid family and domestic workers during the reference period, and nature of work or amount of time spent working meets <u>any</u> of the following conditions: child is below the minimum age for the industry or type of work; works excessive hours; works in one of the 'worst forms'; hazardous conditions, as specified in reference to C. 182.	For some forms of child labour, SIMPOC household based survey. For others, will need expanded RA methodology. For others, complete enumeration.
INTENSITY OF WORK	Average Hours worked per week and timing of the work (night, day, during school time etc) By: Age Group; Gender; Region; Rural/Urban; sector.	Average of hours worked per week among child labourers.	" "
INTENSITY OF WORK	Days worked per week and timing of the work By: Age Group; Gender; Region; Rural/Urban; sector.	Average days worked per week among child labourers.	" "
Schooling Indicators			
SCHOOL ENROLMENT	Net School Enrolment Ratio	For children of the official primary school age group, enrolment in primary education, expressed as a percentage of the population.	
SCHOOL PARTICIPATION	Never Attended School By: Age Group; Gender; Region; Rural/Urban; whether currently child labourer; whether currently child worker.	Percentage of all children who have achieved the age for of mandatory attendance of primary school who have never enrolled in school.	
School leaving	School Dropout Rate By: Age Group; Gender; Region; Rural/Urban; whether currently child labourer; whether currently child worker. School quality: Basic Learning Competencies	Percentage of all children who are above the age for mandatory attendance of primary school and below the legal school-leaving age, who are not attending school, but have attended school at some point in their lives.	
Work and School	Student Labourers By: Age Group; Gender;	Percentage of all child labourers who are currently enrolled in school.	

	Rural/Urban		
Category	Indicators	Definition	Means of Verification
Indicator Set 2. Correlates and Causes of Child Labour			
Causes	Child Labour Rate, by family size By: Gender; urban/rural.	For a given family size, create a simple tabulation of the percentage of children who are child labourers.	
Causes	Child Labour Rate, by gender of household head By: Gender; urban/rural.	% of children from female headed households who are child labourers vs. from male headed.	
Causes	Child Labour Rate, by socio-economic status By: Gender; urban/rural.	For deciles of income/expenditure (or above/below poverty line), % of children who are child labourers.	
Causes	Child Labour Rate, by reason child works By: Age; Gender; urban/rural.	% reporting various reasons why child works; (need income; pay debt under contractual arrangement; assist household enterprise; education not suitable; school too far).	
Category	Indicators	Definition	Means of Verification
Indicator Set 3. Consequences of Child Labour			
Consequences	Injuries among child labourers By: Age; Gender; sector of employment	Among all children who have ever worked, % hurt at work.	
Consequences	Serious Injuries among child labourers By: Age; Gender; sector of employment	Among children who have been hurt, % where injury resulted in hospitalisation or permanently prevented work.	
Consequences	Work Interference with Schooling By: Age; Gender; urban/rural.	Among child labourers, % reporting their work interferes with attending school or studies.	
Consequences	Consequences of eliminating child labour By: Age; Gender; urban/rural.	What would happen if child stopped working (household living standards decline, household can't afford to live, household business can't run)?	
Category	Indicators	Definition	Means of Verification
Indicator Set 4. Contextual Indicators			
Population and Human Capital	Total fertility rate	The average number of children a woman can be expected to have over the course of her life	Demographic and Health Surveys; World Development Report
Population and Human Capital	Poverty Rate	% households with income less than \$1 per person per day	" "
Population and Human Capital	Life Expectancy	Average years expected to live at birth	" "
Population and Human Capital	Adult Literacy Rate (male vs. female)	% Population 15+ who can read.	" "
Education System	Public School Expenditure (% GDP; per student)	Public expenditures on primary education, as % of GDP and per pupil (2 separate measures)	UNESCO
Education System	Pupil/teacher ratio (School quality)	Ratio of students per teacher. A good indicator of school quality.	" "
Education System	Costs of Attending School	Average cost attending primary school; fees, tuition, uniforms, books, supplies, transport.	Available for selected countries from LSMS; need to add to SIMPOC questionnaire.
Economy	GDP per capita	Total GDP divided by total population.	National accounts; WDR; HDR; Economist Intelligence Unit
Economy	Output Composition	% Of GDP for: agriculture; industry; construction; mining; manufacturing; services	National accounts; Economist Intelligence Unit; WDR database.
Economy	Capital intensity, manufacturing and agriculture	Standard Index of capital intensity, or capital/labour ratio.	" "
Economy	Trade Engagement	Share of imports and exports in	" "

		GDP.	
Labour Standards and Legal Environment	Minimum working age;	Minimum working age, by industry. Likely to comprise more than 1 simple indicator.	NATLEX; ILO database; recent ILO report measuring standards.
Labour Standards and Legal Environment	Compulsory schooling age;	Age to which children must remain in school.	UNESCO

3.3 SOURCES AND METHODOLOGIES FOR DATA COLLECTION

While national statistics about the population and the labour force are collected in a number of countries by means of censuses and labour force surveys, data on working children either do not exist or are incomplete in almost all countries. Over the last two years, the IPEC Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) has launched 35 national household-based child labour surveys. While these surveys are very useful for the production of comprehensive statistical data on the various aspects of working children at national and regional levels, they do not fully capture the “invisible” or “hidden” types of children’s activities, many of which are carried outside the household and about which parents/guardians of children may feel reluctant to discuss in a structured type of interview. To map those forms of child labour, the methodology of Rapid Assessments (RA) has been developed jointly by IPEC and UNICEF. It is applied in a number of countries by other organizations. Other international organizations – notably the World Bank, UNICEF and UNESCO – also have developed instruments for studying some aspects of child labour, in addition to conducting research in this area.

The major sources of information and methodologies to study child labour can be summarized under three sub-headings: (a) National Sample Surveys; (b) Participatory Approach, including Rapid Assessments; and (c) Secondary Sources, including research results, documents and reports on socio-economic development programmes.

National Sample Surveys

These are countrywide sample child labour inquiries intended to generate information on children’s activities (aged 5-17), such as schooling and working in and outside the household. In many cases, they are household-based. The use of the household as medium for studying child labour is supported by the fact that the decision as to whether a child will go to school or work, or do both, has a lot to do with the circumstances of the household and its composition. Understanding the dynamics of the household is, therefore, crucial to understanding the reasons for and consequences of child labour. It also provides an opportunity to establish the regional distribution in a particular country among sectors, as well as to better analyse gender issues. The major sources of information in this category are:

IPEC Child Labour Surveys (CLS)

By the end of 2001, IPEC/SIMPOC is expected to provide technical assistance to 35 countries for conducting nation-wide child labour surveys. The key respondents in these surveys are the working and potential working children and their parents/guardians. In general, the surveys seek to obtain information on the magnitude, character, and reasons for child labour, and to determine the conditions of work and their effects on the health, education and normal development of the working child. Many aspects can be incorporated into the survey questionnaires in order to learn about working children and their families; including demographic and socio-economic

characteristics, housing conditions, workplace characteristics, factors that lead children to work, and perceptions of the parents/guardians on children's work and schooling.

Box 3.4 illustrates some of the information obtained from Nepal Child Labour Survey. More examples and information can be obtained from ILO web site at: <http://www.ilo.org/public/standards/pec/simpoc>

Box 3.4: Example of Information Generated from Nepal Child Labour Survey, 1996

Over a quarter, 26.7% (2.6 million) of the total children of Nepal were found to be working. The corresponding figures for male and female children are 27.9% and 25.5%, respectively. The incidence of child labour among children aged 10-14 years (40.8%, or 1,150) is more than 3 times higher as compared to the younger children aged 5-9 years (12.5%, or 426).

Children in the mountain zone constituted 38% of those who participated in economic activities, followed by 30.5% (862) in the hill regions, and 21.2% (622) in the Tarai region. Child labour in the mountain zone is higher among female children (40.6%) than among male children (35.6%),

The Incidence of child labour is the highest in mid-western and far-western regions. In these areas child labour is estimated to be about 33% as compared to 24.2% in central and 29.8% in eastern regions. The lowest incidence of child labour is found in western area of the country (20.7%).

Work participation of the rural children is nearly 2 times higher than that of urban children. The work participation rate for rural children is estimated to be 43.4 cent. The corresponding figure for the urban children is 23.0%. The mountain zone has the highest work participation rate of 52.2%, while the Tarai region has the lowest (36.6%). Among the development regions, the lowest work participation rate of children is found in the western region (33.2%), and the highest in the mid-western (50.4%) and far-western regions (48.7%). All the zones and regions demonstrate a higher work participation rate for female children.

To supplement information obtained from households, IPEC/SIMPOC also has developed an approach to collect information from establishments and employers. Specifically, establishment/employer surveys seek to obtain information on the particulars of the establishment and the characteristics of the workforce. A special focus will be placed on children under 18 years of age, their wages, hours of work, and all other conditions of work and benefits. Information is also collected on employer perceptions of recruiting a child workforce – its advantages and drawbacks.

WORLD BANK – Living Standards Measurement Surveys (LSMS)

The World Bank over the last decade has been implementing household-based living standards measurement surveys in a number of developing countries. In most of the countries, the surveys are intended to monitor the social impact of structural adjustment programmes. It, therefore, collects information on issues such as poverty, access to education and health facilities, infrastructure, etc.

UNICEF Multi-Cluster Indicators Surveys (MICS)

The World Summit for Children in 1990 adopted 27 goals for the decade, on child survival, development and protection. As a means of assisting countries to fill data gaps on the situation

of children so that progress towards the Summit goals can be assessed, UNICEF developed the Multiple-Cluster Indicator Survey (MICS). MICS were initially used at mid-decade to assess progress on a subset of the goals, but were used more extensively in the year 2000 to assess progress at end-decade, when more than 70 countries had carried out MICS to fill data gaps on children. Data have been obtained on nutrition, health, education and protection. Many of these surveys have included a small set of questions on children's work outside the household, for a family business as well as housekeeping chores. A primary aim of these questions is to assess how the amount of work might relate to a child's development, particularly in terms of education and health status.

UNESCO Consultative Forum Reports

UNESCO has established an International Consultative Forum on Education for All: The Year 2000 Assessment. This is a major global endeavour that will enable participating countries to construct a comprehensive picture of their progress towards Education for All, to identify priorities and strategies, and to revise their national plans accordingly. Data sources are: annual school reports filed with the Ministry of Education, school surveys, school inspection reports, statistical reports by the national statistical office, household surveys, population censuses and studies and project reports prepared for the Ministry of Education or the donor community.

Rapid Assessment Method: The participatory approach

The proposed TBP approach focuses more on the worst forms of child labour. Therefore, the methodology for investigation should be adapted for gathering information on more "hidden" or "invisible" forms of child labour in a quick and simplified way within small, clearly defined geographical areas – for example, small individual communities, towns, villages, urban core, etc. For this purpose, the Rapid Assessment (RA) method, jointly developed by ILO and UNICEF, is recommended. Information about this can also be accessed through the web at: <http://www.ilo.org/public/standards/ipecc/simpoc>

RAs focus on areas known to have substantial concentrations of children involved in activities difficult to identify and quantify. Its output is primarily qualitative and descriptive. Some numerical data may be obtained as background information or through interviews, but these usually cannot be generalized to larger populations. It uses semi-structured questionnaires or none at all; in-depth interviews and conversations; careful and attentive observation; and background information derived from a variety of sources, such as key informants or knowledgeable persons.

RAs, thus, seek to strike a reasonable balance between statistical precision and impressionistic data gathering. They can generate information quickly which is realistic and very useful for raising public awareness, programming, planning, in-depth research and also for complementing the findings of national household-based surveys, which fail to fully capture illegal or immoral activities of adults or children. It is ideally suited for obtaining detailed knowledge of the working and life circumstances of children. It uses various sources of information and then arranges such information (factual, policy, legal environment, etc.) in an order that captures the dynamic of child labour in the specific locality. This dynamic is then related to wider national policy issues such as education, poverty eradication, structural adjustment and macro-economic stability.

IPEC/SIMPOC is now implementing 38 Rapid Assessment studies in 21 countries for selected types of the worst forms of child labour. For the first lot of TBP countries, RAs are being conducted in the following areas:

- **El Salvador** (children in fishing, children in popsicle sticks workshops, glass, leather and plastic workshops, garbage dumps, and domestic workers);
- **Nepal** (child trafficking, child domestic workers, children in bondage, and children in hazardous urban environment – rag pickers); and
- **Tanzania** (commercial agriculture –tea, tobacco and coffee, children in mining; informal sector – scavenging, garage, fishing; and child prostitution).

Secondary sources

Secondary sources come from a wide range of institutions. They might, for example, come from surveys and research carried out by socio-economic development programmes, or from expert meetings and roundtable discussions involving the government, social partners, research institutions, universities and civil society.

It must be pointed out that these sources and methods of data collection are not mutually exclusive. The intention is to try and produce both quantitative and qualitative information that complement each other and, therefore, function together to give a more complete picture of the child labour situation. This blending of information enhances understanding and provides a much richer knowledge base with which to design and implement TBP.

3.4 PROCESS OF CONDUCTING SITUATION ANALYSIS (How to do it)

Situation analysis requires many sources of data and information, ranging from existing statistical information to specifically collected information on child labour, as well as studies and reviews of existing programmes, policies, legislation etc. Many different stakeholders must actively participate in a situation analysis, including children, families, communities, social partners, NGOs, government officials and a variety of international partners. Each has a role in the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

Key to the planning of situation analysis is the early identification of these stakeholders for supporting and managing the process of situation analysis. This will require a combination of different institutions. They will need to have experience in areas such as data collection, analysis, research, and facilitation of a consultative, participatory process, as well as policy and programme design. This group of stakeholders will act as the depositories of the information from the situation analysis and will have to ensure that such data is properly managed and disseminated.

Appropriate planning of the situation analysis will also make it affordable and feasible. Maximum use should be made of existing data and flexibility in the information to be generated. It will not always be necessary to use of the full range of indicators. This is determined in each case. A multiple-track approach should move forward from an overall analysis at the national level to more specific data collection exercises on key variables that will refine interventions on a smaller scale, when appropriate. The following is a summary of the process sequence for situation analysis:

- ❑ Identification of stakeholders and their potential contribution to the analysis.
- ❑ Identification of consultative and participatory process for situation analysis and as the basis for subsequent programme formulation.

- ❑ Inventory of existing initiatives so that TBP can identify strategic leverage
 - policies, programmes, legislation (achievements, constraints etc.)
 - statistical and other information (sources of information on the indicators)
 - consultative processes that can be build on
 - resource level.
- ❑ Assessment of capacity of governments, NGOs etc for design, management, monitoring and evaluation of large-scale programme frameworks.
- ❑ Data collection of new information through instruments discussed in section 3.3 and based on involvement of key informants, national and local data collection institutions, researchers etc. In order to reach an understanding of the child labour situation within a particular area, choices must be made about the most relevant variables to be gathered. The indicators at the level of analysis and impact should be able to define magnitude, causes and consequences. Each indicator provides information on only part of the situation. Some indicators might not be relevant or appear conflicting. Situation analysis combines a particular blend of indicators to help clarify the complexities in any given context, so that a comprehensive understanding of the specific nature of the problem can be reached
- ❑ Analysis process ,as well putting indicators together and using a consensus building and participatory process at all levels, including a process for sharing results with groups of stakeholders.
- ❑ Design and formulation of policy and programme mix as discussed in Chapter 4.

This Chapter should be read in conjunction with Chapter 2, which sets out a framework for assessing the causes of child labour. Clearly, the appropriate policy response flows directly from an assessment of the main causes in any particular case. This chapter also refers to Chapters 3 and 5, since policy interventions rely on identifying indicators, while the effective management of the programme involves updating, monitoring and evaluation.

Section 4.1 provides an overview of policy and intervention choices, some of which have been mentioned in Chapter 1. The section also outlines the respective roles expected of government and the social partners in the design and implementation of TPBs. **Section 4.2** focuses on national labour and social policies and how these need to be shaped by TBP interventions. Several examples are given of how social partnerships can positively impact on the TBP interventions, and thus improve the situation of children by, for example, stimulating legislative reform and better labour inspection and enforcement. **Section 4.3** discusses strategies and interventions in the areas of education and training. **Section 4.4** highlights the macro-economic policy support needed for the successful implementation of TBPs and outlines some possible interventions regarding poverty reduction. **Section 4.5** explains the role of social mobilisation in the success of TBPs and provides examples of how to develop this component within a national programme. Finally, **Section 4.6** outlines steps for mainstreaming gender concerns into TBPs.

4.1 OVERVIEW OF POLICY INTERVENTIONS IN TBPs

Policy choices

A national policy framework depends on the national setting: human and financial resources, implementation capacity, complexity and magnitude of the problem, and the extent of social and political support. It will require a **multi-pronged approach**, introducing a series of complementary policy measures. Arriving at the appropriate policy mix requires an understanding of the specific nature and causes of child work and estimation of behavioural parameters.

All policies will impact on one or more of three key areas:

- **Prevention** of children from entering the worst forms of child labour, by addressing its causes. This will involve improving educational opportunities, raising household income, and increasing awareness of the consequences of the worst forms of child labour.
- **Withdrawal and rehabilitation** of children who are already classified under the worst forms of child labour. Children removed from certain occupations will have immediate specific needs. Later they should be assisted in reintegrating into an educational or training programme as well as the community where they live.
- **Protection** of working children over 15 can mean the difference between hazardous and

non-hazardous occupations. Labour market and other policies should include setting standards in the workplace, along with improvement in working conditions.

Box 4.1 provides examples of policy measures needed to address selected causes of child labour.

Box 4.1. POLICIES TARGETED AT CHILD LABOUR

Matching policies to causes of child labour - an illustrative list		
Policy category	Causes of child labour	policy instruments
National social and labour policy	<i>Demand for child labour</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Legislation and enforcement 2. Wage policies 3. Social dialogue 4. Technological change
	<i>Household structure</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social safety nets 2. Public investments in health that reduce child mortality and unplanned fertility
Education, vocational and training policy	<i>Direct cost of education</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increase density of education institutions (distance) 2. Free primary school; 3. Free school meals at least to age 15 4. Free text books provided at school
	<i>Opportunity cost of working</i>	Subsidy to households that keep children in school
	<i>Quality and relevance of education</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Investment in infrastructure and in teacher's salaries 2. Improvements in curriculum design 3. Flexibility in school times around peak agricultural periods
	Legislation	Enforcement of compulsory schooling once the above-mentioned complementary measures are in place
Social mobilization and community participation	<i>Social norms</i>	Social mobilization, media support for the programme
	<i>Parent attitudes toward child labour and education</i>	Adult education, awareness raising on benefits of education over risks involved with premature employment
Poverty reduction measures	<i>Income-poverty (level of household income)</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Employment-friendly policies 2. Credit for asset creation 3. Direct job creation
	<i>Income vulnerability (volatility of household income)</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public investment in infrastructure (small-scale) projects 2. Public investment in health and other related services 3. Unsecured loans for consumption insurance (micro-credit)
Gender	As a cross-cutting issue	E.g., measures to address issues relating to girl child education

TBP interventions should capitalise on synergies between sectors and stakeholders to ensure sustainability. The success of the TBP requires commitment by the government, social partners, community and civil society at large. International agencies and the donor community can assist

in resource mobilization, policy advice, and capacity building, as appropriate. The importance of having a strong social foundation for the TBP cannot be overemphasized. Also needed are: awareness and support, along with the active participation of children and their families, teachers, local communities, employers' and workers' organisations, NGOs, central and local governments and the media.

Role of governments

Government action in working towards the elimination of child labour is vital. Not only has Convention 182 achieved the fastest rate of ratification of any Convention in ILO history, but more than 100 governments have committed themselves to broader policy frameworks that complement the Convention at the national level.

Government action includes: legislation; commitment to implement guidelines established in international conventions; official statements made in Parliament (bills debated) or in the press; relevant policy objectives specified in national and provincial development plans; and specific child labour policies. In addition, government bears an important responsibility in working toward the creation of a favourable macro-economic framework for the successful achievement of TBP goals. TBPs also require a commitment that government's economic and social policies will be sensitive to the needs of the poor. The necessary economic approaches are outlined in Section 4.4.

Role of workers' and employers' organizations

Convention No. 182 identifies the following areas for consultation between the government and workers' and employers' organizations :

Article 4.1: "The types of work referred to under Article 3(d) shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation, 1999"

Article 5: " Each Member shall, after consultation with employers' and workers' organizations, establish or designate appropriate mechanisms to monitor the implementation of the provisions giving effect to this Convention"

Article 6.2: "Programmes of action shall be designed and implemented in consultation with relevant government institutions and employers' and workers' organizations, taking into consideration the views of other concerned groups as appropriate"

As democratically organized pillars of civil society, workers' and employers' organizations are ideally placed to impress a sense of realism on government policies, and to mobilize the support necessary for their successful implementation. In determining hazardous child labour, for example, the social partners can collect information at the field level ; once determined, they can investigate cases of children working in prohibited circumstances.

Box 4.2 NGOs and Social Partnership Co-operation

Examples of this type of social partner co-operation can be seen in a number of IPEC initiatives and should be considered as models for TBP interventions. In India, for example, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), a national confederation, has a long history of working with NGOs in setting up non-formal education centres to help combat child labour. In Rajasthan, one NGO has been able to continue its support for a school of former child workers from the gem and marble industries, with help from the state branch of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC). In another important case, the South India Chamber of Commerce and Industry has worked with trade unions to reduce child labour in the stainless steel industry.

In the Philippines, a strategy for trade unions and NGOs to jointly mobilise within communities in several pilot projects has resulted in the formation of 100 volunteers known as the Trade Union Anti-Child Labour Advocates (TUCLAS), who monitor and report incidences of child worker abuse in their workplaces and communities. The Federation of Free Workers (FFW) formed a child labour action network in three farming and fishing communities. The members of the network include local government officials, NGOs, community organisations and local trade unions. In Kenya, the Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE) and the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) have each set up child labour sections to research and raise awareness with employers and to introduce child labour issues into educational programmes and collective bargaining discussions.

Before ending this introductory section, it bears emphasizing that **many states have the means to eradicate the worst forms of child labour**. Donor funds act as a *catalyst* in this process. It is clear from this and the previous chapters that child labour is a *symptom* of a host of problems characterizing low-income economies, but it is not an isolated phenomenon. Therefore, ongoing policies should target interventions at poverty alleviation, such as:

- 1) improving access to high quality health and education;
- 2) implementing concrete measures for job creation and income generation; and
- 3) formulating policies for improving social protection.

A relatively small budget is required for the more immediate task of identifying children involved in the worst forms of work and extricating and rehabilitating them.

4.2 NATIONAL LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY

Labour legislation, law enforcement, labour protection

In addition to ratifying Convention 182, governments must incorporate legal reform into TBPs. This includes consolidating and harmonizing disparate laws concerning children, expanding coverage of the law, increasing penalties, providing compensation for child victims and reinforcing labour inspection and other enforcement mechanisms. The review and improvement of national legislation are integral parts of a national TBP strategy to eliminate child labour. Effective policies need a solid framework of child labour laws. TBP managers can work together with national Ministries to draft model legislation and guidelines for enforcement.

Why is ratification important?

TBPs are firmly focused on the worst forms of child labour and, therefore, contribute to a better application of Convention 182. Ratification secures continuity in the face of changing

governments, and proves that a country is prepared to be held accountable before the international community. Ratification also provides a permanent rallying point for child rights advocates.

What types of legislation should be considered by a TBP?

In analysing and improving the legal framework, a TBP must not only look at legislation, but it must also influence the extent to which the process of law produces the desired outcome. The legal reform component of a TBP must, therefore, not only describe and subsequently reform the parameters of the framework (i.e. legislation, possibly also case law and customary law), but also work on the dynamics that will eventually bring situations in line with the outcome intended by the law. The second part of the legal reform process is outlined in the sections on monitoring and enforcement below.

The analytical part of the legal reform process will concentrate on legislation banning the worst forms of child labour. However, drafting legislation is a formal discipline governing a substantive policy area, not a substantive intervention in its own right. Therefore, legal reform should not ignore other areas where law affects the root causes of child labour, particularly where the law sets out the rights that enable people to obtain and maintain decent work. Therefore, a TBP must also look at:

- laws governing discrimination at work, particularly with regard to access of women and disadvantaged groups to means of production, equal pay for work of equal value – particularly where it affects female-headed households;
- laws governing trade unions and freedom of association. There are a number of ways in which such law can further the aims of Convention 182:
 - 1) promoting the investigative role of trade unions by protecting them against victimization for bringing complaints;
 - 2) giving trade unions a statutory right to be heard (public interest litigation);
 - 3) ensuring that the statutory age for joining a trade union is not higher than the minimum age for admission to employment;
 - 4) ensuring that trade unions are free to organize relevant activities (and are even entitled to subsidies), such as setting up schools or cooperatives, organizing working children;
- laws governing forced labour;
- laws governing minimum wages; and
- laws governing compulsory education.

What are the principles of the legal reform process?

The legal reform process itself must abide by certain principles, such as:

- **being participatory** with respect to the various consultations required by Convention 182, especially the tripartite consultations, to determine the types of work to be prohibited and to identify the types of work to be eliminated for children under 18;
- **being internally coherent** : a common flaw is conflicting legislation originating from different government departments but governing the same situation, which then results in

confusion and failure in enforcing the law;

- **observing a balance** between authority and adaptability, and, therefore, making use of the full array of legal instruments, as opposed to trying to cover everything in a single act of parliament, e.g. constitution, acts, regulations, collective agreements; and
- **organizing transnational coordination** in order to regulate situations with a cross-border element, especially with regard to trafficking.

Banning the worst forms of child labour

Bans or sanctions are top-down approaches and may incur high, sometimes unrealistic, monitoring costs. The effectiveness of a child labour ban rests on the credibility of the threat that the costs of child labour will indeed be raised, and raised sufficiently to induce suppliers and demanders of child labour to abandon their intent. The TBP's strategy – which ensures the credibility of a ban while keeping a check on monitoring costs – is to strengthen the self-monitoring capacity of society through social mobilization and legal literacy, coordination between enforcement authorities, and diversifying the sanctions which can come out of enforcement. The various elements of this strategy are explained later in this chapter.

From legislative reform to legal reform

For legislation to have an effect, it must be publicized and the legal literacy and skill of common citizens and their organizations must be improved. In other words, once the law on the books has been reformed, various actors must be mobilized to learn how to work with the new tool. This involves:

- publicizing the law with mailings, folders, fact-sheets, posters, or websites, with a view to briefing those people and organizations that create or influence political agendas. These people include ministers, top ministry officials, parliamentarians, trade unions, employers' organizations, human rights institutions, research institutes, religious leaders, media, celebrities etc.;
- developing courses for and conducting training of all relevant professional groups, including the judiciary, law enforcement officials, such as public prosecutors, civil servants, labour inspectors, trade unions and employers' organizations;
- providing the same type of legal education for children, at a different level, as a matter of prevention; and
- ensuring the same type of legal education for various groups concerned with the application of the law, including parental organizations, children organizations, community vigilance groups etc.

Enforcement of the law, labour inspection

Enforcement encompasses all displays of public authority causing an initially anomalous situation to comply with the prescriptions of the law. Enforcement action can thus be carried out by a variety of *authorities*, or a combination of them: labour inspectors, public prosecutors, courts of law that are appealed to by common citizens, or administrative authorities (e.g. ministries or

municipal offices). To a degree, the law can be made self-enforcing by improving the legal standing of citizens, or, in other words, by facilitating *litigation*. *Sanctions*, be they of a penal, civil or administrative nature, are a last resort rather than a common feature of enforcement action. Finally, it must never be taken for granted that enforcement automatically results in a situation that resembles the legislated outcome. Enforcement policy and action must be *monitored* on an independent basis and fine-tuned if they do not accomplish their goals. The discretion which determines the severity of sanctions and how frequently they will be applied is, within certain legal parameters, the subject of an enforcement policy.

Enforcement action may vary from oral advice by a labour inspector given at the time of a visit to a letter outlining deficiencies in meeting the aims of legislation. Authorities may issue notices requiring remedial work to be undertaken within a specified timescale, or may issue a prohibition notice to require designated dangerous activities to cease immediately. In countries where a licence to operate is required, the ultimate deterrent is withdrawal of permission to operate. The action taken will depend upon the circumstances in any particular case.

A TBP must, as a minimum, try to ensure that:

- there is a mechanism for generating critical information, particularly for the more hidden forms of child labour, beyond the reach of labour inspection services. These mechanisms might be any or all of the following: involving community shelters, establishing and/or networking with helplines; appointing local “ombudsmen”, organizing community vigilance groups, etc.;
- all responsibilities to act upon information are clearly assigned and should be defined in official documents and part of the legal reform;
- information is circulated freely among the various enforcers. Co-ordination between public agencies should be mandated by law, as well as centralizing information and promoting formal or informal networks;
- enforcement policy must be harmonized with the supportive measures that rehabilitate children who have been withdrawn from the worst forms of child labour. This policy would include providing alternatives to children and their families, so that strict law enforcement does not end up leaving them with unreasonable or impractical circumstances.

“Upstream” policy monitoring

Policy monitoring means regularly scrutinizing all actors – from legislators to employers to helplines – to ensure that they carry out their duties and functions in line with agreed upon standards and achieve the intended effect. Monitoring also means adjusting processes, should their outcome disappoint. Policy monitoring is commonly carried out by an independent, national commission on which all policy stakeholders are represented. In a number of countries such national commissions are already operational. For example, the “national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights” currently are being promoted by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. UNICEF is already planning to strengthen the child rights’ component. Activities of such an institution could include:

- establishment of effective complaint handling systems that are well publicized and easily accessible to children and their representatives;
- allocation of appropriate human, and adequate financial resources within the institutions' budget dedicated to the promotion and protection of children's rights;
- public inquiries, based on standards embodied in the international human rights instruments that address systematic violations of children's rights;
- data collection mechanisms that produce indicators to enable governments and relevant agencies to make informed decisions about the actual situation and needs of children in the development and implementation of policies and programmes affecting them.

Where monitoring is entrusted to an institution, rules are necessary to ensure that the institution is independent and qualified; functions on a participatory basis; has a precise mandate; and has transparent procedures. Key questions would include :

- Is there a public authority that monitors children's rights ?
- Is it independent from the public authorities ?
- What groups or individuals are represented on the institution?
- What concrete power does it have to promote children rights in particular?
- Can it individual handle complaints, or does it simply channel them?
- How many complaints does it deal with in an average year?

Employers' organisations

Action by employers' organisations can include:

- awareness-raising within the private sector and mobilisation of their own membership;
- policy development, high-level conferences and campaigns;
- training and the development of training materials and manuals;
- Implementation of codes of conduct for specific sectors, including training local managers;
- action for child-labour-free sectors, industries or municipalities; and
- participation in tripartite bodies.

The most successful examples to date have been sector-based activities. Employers can play a crucial role, not only in implementing such activities, but also in making them sustainable. For example, the following employers groups in Pakistan, directly collaborate with IPEC programmes, including giving financial contributions.

- Pakistan Carpet Manufacturers and Exporters Association (PCMEA)
- Surgical Instruments Manufacturers Association of Pakistan (SIMAP)
- Sialkot Chamber of Commerce & Industry (SCCI)

A notable success of this type of partnership is that of the Bangladesh garment industry (see Box 1.2 in Chapter 1). Against this backdrop of success in monitoring and verification systems

under this project, the industry took the initiative to work with the ILO on a much broader project that covers conditions of work and rights at work in general. The *monitoring and verification component* of this project constitutes a replicable model for manufacturing in the formal sector where there is a strong employer organisation. Several employer's organisations also are actively involved in the implementation of IPEC sectoral projects in Latin America and Africa.

Where vocational training programmes are implemented, be they prevention or rehabilitation, the TBP needs co-operation with employers at the national and local levels to conduct surveys on for which skills are in demand, for apprenticeship needs or programmes – and in the design and implementation of post-vocational training programmes.

Trade unions

Trade unions work toward the elimination of child labour in several key areas:

Investigation: Trade unions can actively engage in fact-finding in the sectors they cover. There are many examples of trade unions being the first to bring child labour abuses to light – this was the case with football stitching in Sialkot, with tobacco plantations in Malawi and in many other situations. Activities have included reporting through the union structure and carrying out research and case studies. When professional researchers work with trade union activists, both sides benefit. The trade unionists learn research methodology and researchers gain access to more workplaces.

Collective Bargaining: Collective bargaining is a traditional tool of trade unions and is one of their main strategies to combat child labour. The child labour issue can be included in the bargaining process as follows:

- In collective agreements: Examples include: plantation sector in Uganda and Ghana and supermarkets in Sao Paolo.
- As codes of conduct: These can concentrate on the child labour issue, but, ideally, they should treat the child labour problem in the general context of trade union rights and human rights. While Codes of Conduct have been commonly employed in the international arena, they are now being considered as useful tools at the local and national economic level.

Monitoring: This is a critical element for the sustainability of TBPs. CHODAWU, a trade union organising domestic workers in Tanzania, uses its own trade union structures to monitor rural areas where recruitment of child domestic workers takes place. It also intervenes and sometimes intercept the children, who are mostly girls. CUT in Brazil is developing a “social observatory network”, which will monitor and report on the violation of labour rights, including child labour, all over the country.

Campaigning: All trade unions involved in TBPs should be called upon to mobilise their members to help them understand their role and what level of co-operation is required to have a successful programme. This is especially true of unions whose members are in direct contact with vulnerable children, such as teachers, law enforcement officials and health care workers.

Removal and Rehabilitation: While trade unions often have special qualifications for the activities mentioned above, normally other groups will be better qualified for rehabilitating

children removed from hazardous work. There can be, however, noticeable exceptions. For example, workers can be strongly motivated to tackle problems in their own workplaces or sector, as in the case of hotel and restaurant workers mobilising against prostitution in the tourism industry in the Philippines.

4.3 EDUCATION INTERVENTIONS AND TBPS

Education and training policy

Educational interventions have been one of the most effective instruments for the prevention of child labour and the rehabilitation of ex-child workers. Clearly, children in school are less likely to be in full-time employment. Children with no access to basic education have little alternative but to enter the labour market where they are often forced to work in dangerous and exploitative conditions. IPEC experience has also demonstrated how important non-formal or transitional education²⁵ can be to the rehabilitation of former child labourers. Vocational education and training provide, moreover, the employable skills needed for gainful employment, which in turn contribute to local and national development.

Education and WFCL

For the time-bound national programmes, it is critical that activities be focused on the improvement and expansion of basic education programs, while employing transitional and vocational educational interventions, where appropriate. This is both an immediate and sustainable strategy toward the eradication of WFCL. Strategies for education also should be closely linked with other major components of the time-bound programmes, such as social mobilisation and the provision of alternatives to child labour.

Policy Interventions

a) Promoting universal primary education

Dating back to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community has consistently articulated and reiterated the right to free primary education. Other notable international instruments, which advocate primary education as a basic human right, include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the widely ratified United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which establishes education as a universal legal right for all children. As early as 1921, ILO Convention 10 highlighted the inextricable link between child labour and education: "Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed ... save outside the hours fixed for school attendance." A holistic approach to education is necessary. Quality education should be provided for children from early childhood onwards and should continue up to at least 14 years or the end of compulsory schooling, in keeping with ILO's Minimum Age Convention (No. 138, 1973)

The issue of education has a central place in Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour:

- The preamble calls for action that takes into account the importance of free basic

²⁵ Transitional education is non-formal education that prepares former working children for entering the formal education system.

education, and recognises that the long-term solution to ending child labour will involve universal education.

- National programmes of action must take into account the importance of education in eliminating child labour.
- Children removed from the WFCL must have access to free basic education and may receive vocation training where appropriate.
- International cooperation and assistance must include support for universal education
- Statistical data on child labour should include details on school attendance.
- Governments should improve the educational infrastructure and the training of teachers to meet the needs of girls and boys.

International Agenda

In 1990, at an international conference in Jomtien, Thailand, 155 governments pledged to achieve universal Education For All (EFA) by 2000. The target date needed to be revised in 1996 to 2015, on account of slow progress. Though the EFA 2000 Assessment demonstrates that some progress has been achieved since Jomtien, it also concedes that progress has been uneven and far too slow. At the beginning of the new millennium:

- Of the more than 800 million children under six years of age, fewer than a third benefit from any form of early childhood education.
- 113 million children, 60% of whom are girls, have no access to primary schooling.
- At least 880 million adults are illiterate, the majority of whom are women.
- The global adult literacy rate is 85% for men and 74% for women.

In April 2000, at a major international conference in Dakar, 181 governments adopted a Framework for Action, reaffirming their commitment to achieve quality basic education for all by 2015. During 2002, these governments should have adopted National Action Plans to meet EFA targets within this time frame. It is critical that as many key actors as possible be involved in this process and that the needs of children at risk be considered when implementing EFA.

b) Creating specific links from provision of education to prevention and rehabilitation of child labour

As described above, education systems and education policy are often unconcerned with the problems of the worst forms of child labour. In many countries, educational systems are built from the centre – political, financial and cultural – towards the periphery. Often, the expansion slows down as a certain enrolment level is reached, even if resources are available for more rapid expansion. To rely solely on a system like this to deliver education to the target group of the TBP would make it impossible to reach the objective in time.

Consequently, it is necessary to:

- Look for structural changes within the education system, as described below, to examine the core objectives of educational policies;
- Determine to what extent prevention of the worst forms of child labour can be included among them; and
- Promote delivery through social mobilisation that leads to community monitoring of delivery.

c) The role of NFE/transitional education

While universal primary education is the ultimate goal, transitional education or NFE can be an effective means of rehabilitating children released from the worst forms of child labour as well as ensuring they do not go back to work. Without competing with or replacing the formal system,

NFE allows ex-child workers to “catch up” with their peers, who began their schooling at the appropriate age. There should remain a strong link between the formal school system and rehabilitation programmes, because basic education is crucial for sustaining the success of educational interventions over the long-term. The most effective strategy is one linking as closely as possible the interventions for rehabilitation with interventions for prevention.

At the same time, there should be a balance between education programs specifically designed for meeting the needs of former child labourers and regular education expansion programs. In certain cases, 5-to-10 children can receive a regular education for the cost needed to care for one child in a special rehabilitation program. In this type of a situation, it might be better to push for an accelerated program for universal quality education, rather than undertaking special programs for relatively few children. For older children, it might be more effective in certain cases to advocate for special classes within the formal system, which include practical skills training, rather than set up relatively more expensive vocational training programs. Through local resource mobilisation – which can include contributions from former employers – such programmes can be financed.

d) Vocational education and training

In preparation for entry into gainful, skilled employment, vocational education and training can provide practical skills for older children who have already acquired functional literacy and numeric skills. Since many school systems tend to create an army of young people trained to seek employment in white collar jobs – which are few and normally out of reach – the incorporation of vocational education often better meets the requirements of the labour market. It is not appropriate to think of practical skills training and basic literacy in “either-or” terms, because they are closely related. Functional literacy and numeric skills are pre-requisites to any form of education or vocational training for older children. Likewise, practical-skills training, which requires the concrete manipulation of materials and objects in the environment, can contribute to proficiency in reading, writing and mathematics.

There is an important distinction between formal trades training for older children, which are normally more long-term and systematically linked to apprenticeship programmes, and non-formal pre-vocational training of a shorter duration. Most formal vocational training programmes require close adult supervision and a proper workshop with tools and machinery. Yet, the available slots for students are limited because this type of training can be expensive. Often, some type of non-formal (pre-) vocational training is given to former working children in combination with or after functional literacy training. These courses are normally short in duration and provide specific skills, such as silk-screen printing, handicraft production, poultry-raising or growing vegetables. Practical skills training can teach children skills that provide immediate economic alternatives and the necessary incentives to make education more attractive. Such training should be viewed as transitional to facilitate the child’s entry into further education and vocational training. For families, which rely on the children’s income for survival, (pre-) vocational training is sometimes combined with providing economic opportunities to child workers to “learn and earn”. It must be ensured, nonetheless, that these programmes be managed as learning centres for children, rather than as disguised employment and recruitment centres.

Moreover, at the pre-vocational level, children should not be trained in one trade only. Certain basic skills, which are needed in a wide spectrum of work areas can constitute the “core” curriculum. After developing a sound knowledge and skills base for a wide variety of trades and occupations, students can specialise in a particular skills. On account of the marked gender segregation in the labour market in many countries, the options for girls to enter different trades

or occupations can be limited. In order to ensure that educational programmes do not inadvertently reinforce existing gender inequalities, special attention should be given to facilitate the access of girls to vocational training.

IPEC experience

Experience has demonstrated that providing basic literacy and numeric skills through NFE does not ensure that children are permanently withdrawn from work, which is why mainstreaming into formal systems is critical. In fact, while IPEC's comparative strength has been in transitional education and small-scale interventions in the education system to develop models for large-scale intervention,²⁶ it is clear now that more emphasis needs to be placed on determining and applying interventions that can accelerate the timetable for Universal Primary Education.

Experience also has shown that investments in basic education are normally targeted at the more privileged groups, whereas efforts should be spread more evenly – focused more on children at risk. In many countries, education systems cater least for those groups of children most at risk – in particular those in rural areas, disadvantaged urban areas (i.e. slums), and those from excluded groups such as racial, ethnic, language or religious minorities, refugees and discriminated social groups (e.g. low castes). There will need to be a parallel process of achieving progressive improvements in and rapid expansion of education systems.

Education Project

IPEC recently gained experience with teacher mobilisation, via the replication of “best” educational practices and national alliance building through the Education Project. While it is too soon to evaluate the effectiveness of this approach, an interim assessment in the nine recipient countries reveals that teachers are becoming increasingly empowered as educators for parents, local leaders and national policy makers about the risks of child labour and the importance of being in school. Implementing agencies have comments on how the network of teachers will be enormously helpful in reaching urban and rural communities, including those affected children normally difficult to reach. They have also reflected on how the introduction of child labour curricula, from the primary school to university level, will spread information about child labour thoroughly – and even to some of the most distant places – in a comparatively inexpensive way.

²⁶ The MVF model is an example of NFE which involves three phases: first, literate youth carry out surveys to identify children out of school and motivate parents to enroll their children in NFE. Second, summer camps are organised for the children for three months in schools during the school summer holiday. The final phase involves the transition from the camp to a hostel and full-time formal education. The Multigrade Education Programme undertaken by The Bureau of Elementary Education of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports in the Philippines is an example of small-scale intervention where activities include teacher training, training of trainers and supervisors, development of a reorganised curriculum for multi-grade classes based on the minimum learning competencies used in all public schools and the preparation of sample lesson plans, a teacher's handbook on multi-grade teaching and multi-level student materials.

Intervention Strategy

The main target groups are those children and families affected by WFCL. A specific and identifiable WFCL (e.g. child prostitution, child soldiers) is largely concentrated in certain geographical areas, which has implications for where educational activities should be targeted. Still, it is useful to distinguish between two types of WFCL: one encompasses specific worst forms and the other involves the worst conditions of work. While education is important for addressing both types, experience has shown that it is difficult to monitor the worst conditions of work. Thus, the universalisation of basic education can catch those worst cases of common types of work.

In addition to working with affected communities, close-working partnerships should be formed with teachers, teacher unions, educators and non-governmental organisations. Building alliances with educational authorities and influential political leaders at the national level is critical. Closer alliances also should be forged with key international actors involved in education, such as UNICEF, the World Bank, UNESCO and civil society, through the Global Campaign for Education.

Using the information derived from selected indicators on education – ranging from assessing current public expenditure on primary and secondary education to analysing repetition and dropout rates by grade – an appropriate mix of educational interventions can be used, depending on a country's situation. The primary focus should be on the overall development of the education system and the employment of transitional and vocational education programs, where appropriate. Regarding implementation, it is important to identify where one should be directly involved or indirectly involved through partnerships.

Promoting the rapid expansion of basic education

Emphasis should be placed on projections for when education will be universalised in a country, with an analysis on what possible interventions would accelerate this timetable. To reiterate, as many key actors as possible need to be involved in the follow-up to Dakar and National Action Plans, in order to meet EFA targets. It should be determined how much money it will take to make quality education universal, where that money will come from, when it will be coming, and what systems will be in place to make sure it is well spent. It will be important to draw from the experiences of countries where compulsory education has been successfully enforced and what added components were necessary to make it work. Where the education system is operating under capacity, compulsory education must be a priority.

The Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS), Madhya Pradesh (MP)

The State Government of MP has initiated an Education Guarantee Scheme, whereby the government guarantees funds to any rural community that demands a primary school, provided that no primary schooling facilities exist within a radius of one kilometre. The EGS school has to start within 90 days of the demand and this **time-bound action** is a critical indicator of the seriousness of government guarantee (see www.fundaschool.org).

Direct targeting and simultaneous targeting

Still, in many cases the gradual expansion of the education system until it reaches the TBP target group could be too slow. In those cases, it also is necessary to make sure that excluded

groups are targeted directly for delivery of education as well as other services. This can be achieved by specifically targeting geographic areas prone to WFCL or known to be recruitment areas for trafficking, for example. To offset the indirect and opportunity costs some other services – such as school meals and health care – they can be delivered by the education system itself. But in many cases, the income substitution that is necessary to allow children to go to school can only be achieved by simultaneous targeting mechanisms between the education expansion programme and social protection programmes.

Structural changes

It is important to identify the different WFCL groups and their status in the education system (e.g. girls, minorities). By drawing on the experiences of children from the WFCL, one can work backwards from these sets of experiences to develop a plan of action for education. In a particular affected community, one will need to detail the specific potential structural changes that have the maximum impact on child labour – and then develop a prioritised agenda for specific improvements in the schooling system.

Structural changes

Removal of direct and indirect costs of education for parents or offsetting the costs for destitute families
 Provision of mid-day meals.
 Involvement of community in education especially in child labour prone districts.
 Special classes for older students in the formal system which incorporate vocational training.
 Child rights component in curricula.
 Teacher training on practices which attract/retain children at risk.
 Joyful learning programs – improving the learning environment.
 Ending or restricting corporal punishment (which is often used against minorities).

Social mobilisation

The mobilisation of all sectors of society in support of education is critical to ensuring EFA targets are met, with special attention to children at risk.²⁷ Undoubtedly, history has shown that social mobilisation has been critical to the achievement of universal primary education. One can build on teacher mobilisation to include children, families, communities, and political leaders, as well as the formation of networks to support basic, transitional and vocational education.

Leaders, advocates, and allies, who support education need to be identified in a particular country. Working with international grassroots coalitions, such as the Global Campaign on Education and the Global March Against Child Labour, will be important for ensuring as wide an involvement as possible from all sectors of society. Tools for social mobilisation range from motivating affected communities to send their children to school through the media, to the incorporation of child rights' in the curriculum with a Teacher's Kit.

NFE/transitional Education, vocational education and training

After taking stock of the existing capacity to run transitional and vocational education programs, those areas where NFE is the best option should be identified to ensure that rehabilitation programs are initiated where needed in affected communities. For older children, vocational education can be employed where there are strong links between such training and the needs of the labour market. Opportunities for private contributions to such programs should be identified and explored.

²⁷ There is a discussion on the principles and application of social mobilisation in the following section.

Girls, WFCL, and basic education

For each affected community, the specific barriers to girls need to be identified. In addition to components that promote access to education for both boys and girls (e.g. lowering costs for parents, reducing distance to school, community participation, use of multi-delivery educational interventions), the following additional components should be considered:

- advocacy for girls' education (e.g. enlist support of prominent female leaders and women's organisations, cooperation with the 10-Year UN Girls' Education Initiative).
- recruitment and training of female teachers and separate school facilities where needed.
- identification and adaptation of innovative local solutions (e.g. - in Burkina Faso, mothers' organisations in several districts have engaged in income-generating projects, enabling them to reduce their daughters' workloads and save time and energy by digging wells or building firewood storage facilities).
- curricula more sensitive to the needs and aspirations of girls.

Once the barriers and appropriate policy responses are determined, specific guidelines for mainstreaming gender into educational interventions can be developed.

4. 4 MACRO-ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK AND POVERTY REDUCTION INTERVENTIONS

The significant way in which macro-economic conditions affect poverty was discussed in Chapter 2, as was the relationship between poverty and child labour in its worst forms. Just as economic growth may facilitate the task of poverty alleviation and the elimination of child labour, poor economic performance can make it difficult to attain the goals of the TBP. The design of TBP interventions should not only take into account risks associated with potential sources of macro-economic instability, but should also include active efforts to reduce such risks. Indeed, there is a need for TBP countries to:

- promote economic growth with equitable income distribution;
- avoid policies that contribute to fiscal and macro-economic imbalances or persistent balance of payment deficits that could lead to inflation, unemployment and worsening poverty; and
- ensure that economic reforms do not result in poor households becoming worse off.

In this connection, the TBP approach should include at least four main elements. First, TBP partners should advocate and support policies that promote the realization of a sound macro-economic framework that is indispensable for economic growth and for job-creation on a large scale – and hence, for the consistent reduction of poverty. Towards this end, IPEC will work with other ILO departments and partner agencies, such as the Bretton Woods Institutions and the regional development banks, to offer technical expertise when needed.

Second, drawing on the expertise available within the ILO and partner agencies, and working within existing programmes when possible, the TBPs can promote the adoption and implementation of employment-friendly strategies. Besides the promotion of macro-economic stability as indicated above, support may be provided for the development of employment growth

strategies. These strategies must strike an appropriate balance between growth in skilled jobs that enhance private returns to education, with improved opportunities and working conditions for unskilled labourers, so that poverty does not worsen. In this connection, the ILO and other partners can assist in the analysis of labour force dynamics, employment planning and the development of efficient labour markets. At sectoral levels, support may be provided for the identification of strategies that facilitate technological change in a way that makes child labour less attractive, including factor pricing, access to factors (credit and know-how) and access to product markets, etc. Both sector-wide strategies and specific measures targeting the most vulnerable groups (e.g. women) and disadvantaged regions may have to be promoted.

Third, child labour considerations should be included in the design of poverty alleviation strategies and interventions. It must be noted that the resources directly managed under TBPs will be limited in scope and in any case will be insufficient for funding major national initiatives for poverty alleviation. Therefore, IPEC and its partners have an important advocacy role to play. They must work closely with governments and the donor community – including the bilateral programmes and the multilateral programmes of the UN system and the Bretton Woods Institutions and the regional Development Banks – to ensure the inclusion of child labourers and their families as a major target group in poverty alleviation programmes. Similarly, groups that are vulnerable with respect to the worst forms of child labour need to be targeted by programmes aimed at improving access to basic social services, such as education and primary health care.

Concerted effort should be made to develop databases and other mechanisms for facilitating collaboration in these areas. In addition, provision can be made under a TBP for technical assistance to enhance the impact of poverty alleviation strategies, including those relating to basic social services, on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. Of particular importance to the TBPs are the Poverty Reduction Strategies launched by the World Bank in many developing countries.

Lastly, the close relationship between poverty and unemployment gives the ILO a unique role to play in the area of poverty alleviation. Apart from developing close co-operation with the agencies and bodies of the UN system, a TBP could make full use of the technical capacity of many ILO programmes that have expertise in the design and implementation of job creation and income generation projects. Some of these ILO technical programmes are presented below.

Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are very important for attaining the objectives of job creation and the elimination of hazardous child labour. TBPs will benefit from the experience of the ILO's *International Small Enterprise Programme*. This programme supports the development of SMEs by assisting governments to review policies and regulatory frameworks, with a view to removing biases against small enterprises. It also helps to upgrade the national institutional framework to improve delivery of support services to SMEs and promotes basic management training for small-scale entrepreneurs.

Box 4.7

La Pampas de Huachipa, Peru*

Huachipa is located in the northern part of Lima, the capital city of Peru. It has a fluctuating population of approximately 2,000, some 700 of whom are children between the ages of 5 and 14. In July 1997, IPEC launched a joint project that involves public bodies and NGOs, aimed at the progressive elimination of child labour. The first task was to set up a primary health care network that provides services to 500

children and their mothers. Local health centres have been providing extended primary education.

The project works with two schools in the area, carrying out training workshops for teachers, providing materials to the school library and arranging recreational holidays. The cost of schoolbooks, registration fees and lunch are free, with the mothers organizing the lunches.

By late 1999, 350 children had taken advantage of this school package. The project also provides micro-credits for families wishing to establish small businesses. In return, families pledge to keep their children in school and not put them to work.

A second phase of the project involves the creation of an associative business begun in 1999. CAPECO, the Construction Chamber of Peru, has contributed to the Huachipa project by making a technical assessment of the project and undertaking to buy up the entire brick production. To complement the project, a small factory has been set up and is being managed by a co-operative. This not only reduces the economic risk factor for the association, but also –more importantly – defines a model for other employers in the fight against child labour in other sectors, such as the informal sector. To date, 300 children between the ages of 5 and 14 have been removed from the work force.

*An IPEC programme based on enterprise promotion, organizational capacities, training and access to technological assets.

The **promotion of the special needs of women** has been discussed in several Chapters of this guide as an important objective of TBPs. IPEC will include a gender needs component in all TBPs that will draw from the long ILO experience on promoting employment for women.

It is essential that data on poverty and employment include information on women and girl labourers, especially the constraints they face in gaining access to productive and safe income-generating activities. The *ILO's International Programme for More and Better Jobs for Women* will be a source of internal guidance on this issue.²⁸

ILO's Employment Intensive Investment Programme (EIIP) has combined a number of key ILO objectives into one programme. One of IPEC's specific objectives is to provide income-generating alternatives in rural areas. Cooperation between the two programmes will help enhance the capacity of TBP countries to combat the worst forms of child labour in the agricultural sector and to reduce the flow of children from rural areas to urban areas, where they become street children. The box below summarises EIIP's approach.

Box 4.8 ILO's Employment. Intensive Investment Programme

As half of public investment in developing countries is in infrastructure, its contribution to job creation is essential. Therefore, the ILO, through its EIIP programme, helps states to maximize the impact of infrastructure investments on employment and local economic development.

The EIIP works with governments, the private sector, employers' and workers' organizations and community associations. It orients public and private infrastructure investments towards the creation of higher levels of productive employment, through the use of labour-based technologies. Most projects are executed by local private enterprises tendering for public contracts. Increasingly, a community-based approach is also being promoted, under which community associations are developed to take charge of the projects.

Based on over two decades of experience in research and development, training, project execution and replication, the EIIP undertakes the following activities:

- 1) Improving basic infrastructure in both rural and urban areas
- 2) Creating quality employment

²⁸ See Lim, L.L., *More and better jobs for women: An action guide*, ILO, Geneva, 1996.

3) Creating sustainable employment through enterprise promotion

Over the past decade, the EIIP has helped more than 40 member States of the ILO develop sustainable employment through infrastructure investments. Approximately 1 million direct jobs and close to 2 million indirect jobs have been generated by investment programmes in which the EIIP has been directly involved through demonstration and capacity-building activities. These projects have helped to improve the basic infrastructure in many countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where 80 % of the activities are located.

Mozambique

In 1997, the employment-intensive Feeder Roads Programme (FRP) employed some 6,500 workers, of which 20% were women. Since 1989, this programme has rehabilitated 2,396 km of feeder roads and created additional employment for maintenance operations. The work is carried out through 29 labour-based "brigades" established in all provinces of the country. Each brigade employs 150 to 250 workers, is managed at the local level, and works with a set of essential light equipment to safeguard quality.

Inaccessibility of financial services is a major barrier to employment generation and poverty reduction, and is a contributing factor in the incidence of bonded labour, as well as the desperate economic circumstances that can contribute to child labour in general. ILO programmes on **access to financial services** focus on removing this barrier by stimulating the growth of savings and credit co-operatives, improving the efficiency of institutions operating as financial intermediaries, and balancing gender access to financial services.

4.5 SOCIAL MOBILISATION IN TBPs

Social mobilisation is instrumental in building a strong social foundation for the eradication of the worst forms of child labour. It aims to create a broad alliance of organisations of civil society that works towards changing social norms or values related to child labour, increasing awareness about its causes and consequences and ensuring that the opinions of communities directly affected by child labour are heard by policy makers.

At the 1997 International Conference on Child Labour in Oslo, social mobilisation was defined as:

"... a critical process that ensures commitment to change ... requiring: a willingness to change, action that emanates from awareness, dialogue and negotiation that facilitates respect for differences and coordination of efforts, and sharing of power through transfer of information, knowledge and capacities."

Strategies of social mobilisation must be tailored to suit the needs of the various target groups in the country. The components of an effective strategy are:

1. Creating a social alliance of institutional actors
2. Awareness raising among the general public
3. Obtaining commitments of policy makers and opinion leaders
4. Empowerment of communities at risk and those directly affected by child labour

Box 4.5 Social mobilisation in Convention No. 182 and Recommendation 190

Article 6(2) states: “ ... Programmes of action shall be designed and implemented in consultation with relevant government institutions and employers’ and workers’ organisations, taking into consideration the views of other concerned groups as appropriate.” Significantly, C182 contains an explicit encouragement to involve civil society in this process through the inclusion of “other concerned groups”. Organisations of civil society have developed a considerable body of expertise in the field of child labour and should be able to provide important insights to governments. Many governments already voluntarily consult concerned groups and the explicit encouragement in C182 motivates governments to continue this practice.

Paragraph 2 of the Recommendation further specifies that the views of children directly affected by the worst forms of child labour, as well as their families, be taken into account. This ensures that children will be empowered to have their voices heard and that directly affected communities will be actively engaged. Paragraph 15 of the Recommendation calls for informing, sensitising and mobilising the general public, including national and local political leaders, parliamentarians and the judiciary. Considering the ILO’s years of cooperative experience with NGOs, including social movements like the Global March Against Child Labour, IPEC has a strong mandate to develop a process open to all groups at all levels while, keeping the tripartite structure at the centre of the effort.

A broad social alliance

The situation analysis carried out in preparation of the TBP will have identified the various institutional actors that are involved in combating child labour. These generally include government departments, employers’ and workers’ organisations, NGOs, religious groups, teachers’ and lawyers’ associations, grass-root organisations, etc. Bringing these actors together on a joint platform will give them greater power to influence policy and programmes at local, provincial and national levels and ensure that adequate resources are mobilised for the eradication of child labour.

This platform of social partners will organise awareness raising events and build up a relationship with the media, so that cases of violations of the laws concerning child labour are publicised and so that journalists can play a constructive role in spreading information about “good practices” for prevention and reintegration of child labourers. The social partners in the alliance should be the bridge between their constituents and the policy makers, so that policies and programmes are designed in a participative and transparent manner.

Awareness raising

Messages about child labour must address prevailing cultural attitudes and practices in the region. Radio and TV programmes, the press, street theatre, exhibitions, etc., can be effectively used to counter prevailing myths about child labour. They also can spread reliable information about the causes and consequences of child labour, as well as national laws concerning it. Knowledge about sanctions for violations can deter people from disregarding the rights of children.

Promoting a movement of children and youth against child labour, in which both school-going children and child labourers participate, can build solidarity among children and make them protagonists for the cause. Ex-child labourers can be accompanied back to their places of origin and encouraged to share their experiences with the local community.

Concerned citizens can form Action Groups of “volunteers against child labour” that help in

running programmes aimed at breaking the isolation of child labourers by means of reception centres, SOS telephone lines, non-formal education, etc.

The active involvement of celebrities, singers, photographers, sportsmen, artists can touch a wide audience and promote attitudinal changes to child labour as well as enhance parental protection of children.

Commitments from persons in authority

Public declarations of the government's commitment to eradicate child labour – made by the Head of State, concerned ministers, parliamentarians, judges, prominent businessmen, trade union leaders, religious and social leaders, etc. – give great impetus to the movement for the eradication of child labour. The Global March against child labour was very successful in doing this at rallies and public events in which prime ministers, first ladies, mayors etc. participated.

Empowerment of communities at risk or affected by child labour

An effective preventive measure of child labour is community-level discussions about the causes and consequences of child labour that are often the start of a process of collective action to solve the problem. Community-based organisations that elect leaders who are trained to represent them in the local government can ensure that programmes to combat child labour are designed to suit local needs. Collective action is often necessary to ensure decent working conditions for adults; access to credit, education and health care; and resources to tide over periods of crisis that are all necessary for the withdrawal of children from work. The involvement of parents in the management of local schools helps to improve the quality of schooling and its relevance to the local situation. Community surveillance of children at risk has proved effective in several countries in preventing children from being trafficked or put to work in exploitative conditions.

Steps in social mobilisation

Review social mobilisation activities
Take an inventory of the organisations of civil society and government. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • especially noting which groups are active at the district and village level and possibly preparing a database of which organisations are active in which districts or villages of the country. • note active UN agencies and private international organisations.
Prepare a cultural assessment identifying opinion leaders and opinion shapers, especially noting who is capable of influencing opinion at the grassroots level.
Prepare an internal analysis of the attitude of national, state, and local government towards social mobilisation, noting what difficulties could arise, and also what are good potential areas of collaboration.
Develop a resource mobilisation and management plan for the implementation of social mobilisation in consultation with all social partners in the alliance.
Identify national or international events to which social mobilisation activities can be linked thus increasing media coverage and impact.

Develop a system of monitoring and evaluation for social mobilisation.
Document the process for sharing as a model in other countries.

Objectives and Indicators: In order to determine whether social mobilisation activities are contributing to the success of TBPs, managers must identify indicators which can measure the success or failure of such efforts. This also suggests the critical level of social mobilisation needed to make an impact on social practices and government policies. After the programme objectives are identified, process and outcome indicators can be developed. An example is provided below:

Objectives	Outcome Indicators
Change social norms and values against worst forms of child labour in affected communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage of parents who express an opinion that is different from what they expressed earlier about child labour Percentage of families in affected communities who are fully aware of the risks of the worst forms of child labour

Outcome indicators are the ultimate test of the success of social mobilisation efforts. Still, regular social mobilisation status reports, which measure **process indicators**, can give an indication of progress towards objectives. Process indicators can include:

- number of consultations with affected children and families, e.g. for community-based monitoring schemes;
- number, size, and quality of public-awareness activities;
- number of articles or television or radio programmes on child labour;
- number of people participating in major public events; and
- number and status of high-profile supporters.

The next step would be to develop process indicators, which match the different outcome indicators and objectives for the major components of TBPs.

4.6 GENDER MAINSTREAMING: Integration of Gender Issues in TBP

Gender analysis means the recognition of differences in patterns, causes and consequences of child labour by gender. Recognizing such distinctions will lead to more appropriate measures to deal with the root causes of girls' and boys' work and to tailor programmes that respond to those differences.

The key practical and operational objectives of gender analysis for IPEC's work should be:

- to make addressing and eradicating inequalities between boys and girls a key component of project objectives;
- to recognize that inequalities in access to resources and opportunities may exist between

- boys and girls;
- to develop a knowledge base which is capable of permitting the examination of the differences in the patterns of child labour for boys and girls, including the incidence and magnitude of child labor in all its forms; and
- to ensure that the methodology for generating the knowledge base does not create systematic biases in the measurement of child labour among one gender, relative to the other.

Specifically, this encompasses:

- paying attention to generic language and definitions that perpetuate gender biases;
- making sure that all activities are measured, including activities within the household, informal work and the worst forms of child labour;
- training and sensitization of staff involved in the generation of the knowledge base;
- exploring whether the consequences of child labour are the same for boys and girls (consequences should include the physical, mental and emotional well-being of children, as well as the impact on their future development); and
- undertaking research, based in part on the knowledge base, which will identify whether there are different root causes of child labour among boys and among girls.

Further research objectives should explore more refined gender issues. For example, data could be used to explore patterns of when gender issues emerge, and factors could be examined to explore the correlations and differences between boys and girls – for example by education, social group, geography, etc. Policy and programmes implemented should recognize and explicitly state the gender reality; should target working girls and boys most exposed to hazards and vulnerable to abuse/exploitation; and should tailor their focus to the specific root causes of child labour, which may differ for boys and girls.

Box 4.9 provides a checklist on gender mainstreaming related to project design, human resources, knowledge base, research, policy development, statistical outputs and analysis, data dissemination and evaluation.

BOX 4.9 : GENDER CHECKLIST FOR TBPs

1. Objectives, plans and direction

- Make sure all project documents explicitly state gender goals, equal access for both boy and girls.

2. Human Resources

- Make sure all TOR state that sensitivity to gender issues is an essential component of all tasks.
- Provide a short training manual on gender to all staff; and
- Make sure that all staff in collaborating countries follows it in training and hiring.

3. Knowledge base:

- All survey methodology should use gender-neutral language.
- Survey methodology should not systematically undercount boys or girls.
- Interviewer training should emphasize sensitivity to and awareness of gender.
- Make sure that hazards/consequences measured address issues that may specifically be relevant to boys and girls differently.
- Explore whether there is differential access to resources in communities.

4. Research

- Research should explore gender dimensions of child labour, differences in causes, sensitivity to conditions, factors that cause gender differences.
5. Policy
- Policy and programmes should use data to establish gender-specific priorities.
 - Policy should be tailored to the gender-specific causes of child labour.
 - Programmes should be targeted by gender if relevant.
6. Statistical outputs
- Statistical outputs should disaggregate patterns, causes and consequences by gender.
 - A special section should be devoted to discussing gender issues.
 - Contextual variables on the status of women within the country should be presented.
 - Be sure to count total time burden in all tasks.
7. Data analysis and data dissemination process
- Present and emphasize the gender priority.
8. Evaluation
- Evaluations should ensure that gender specific changes are measured and used as a feedback into policy design.

This Chapter explains the process of monitoring and evaluation for the purpose of impact assessment; continued updating as circumstances change; and effective management of intervention targets. It refers to programme monitoring and evaluation. Other types of monitoring such as work place monitoring are covered in Chapter 4. The contents of this Chapter should be read in conjunction with Chapter 2, Indicators and Situation Analysis, and Chapter 3, Understanding the Causes and Consequences. The indicators and data variables identified in Chapter 2 provide the basis for monitoring and evaluating the achievement and impact of the TBP.

Section 5.1 explains the importance of monitoring and evaluation of TBPs. Section 5.2 outlines the actual process of how to do monitoring and evaluation. Section 5.3 describes the levels and analytical steps of monitoring and evaluation, including discussion of attribution and unexpected results. Section 5.4 discusses the role of a knowledge base, and Section 5.5 is on institutional capacity requirements and the implications for TBP sustainability.

5.1 IMPORTANCE OF MONITORING AND EVALUATION

TBP efforts will consist of interventions on a number of different levels by different partners. These various interventions are linked together by a strategy designed to achieve the overall objectives of the TBP. Monitoring and evaluation of these efforts occur at both the implementation level (management, operations and results), and at the impact level (fundamental causes and consequences). At the level of implementation, continuous analysis and management of the links among the various efforts is essential for the success of the programme framework. At the level of impact, monitoring and evaluation provide the crucial tools to identify and assess impacts on the worst forms of child labour.

Monitoring and evaluation of the two levels together makes it possible to:

- gauge whether the TBP is working;
- refine and improve programme targets; and
- provide a feedback mechanism for design and targeting. For example, if design strategies are working in some places but not others, or for boys more than for girls, etc., then we can re-design the programme.

The process of monitoring and evaluation ensures that a TBP is a dynamic process capable of fine-tuning objectives. It also provides future lessons for programme design. The assessment of policy impact should also consider other levels and impacts on the programme. Examples include impacts on household well-being, on education, and on the labour market and economy.

5.2 PRINCIPLES OF MONITORING AND EVALUATION IN TBPs

This section presents the basic principles of monitoring and evaluation and its contribution to the success of TBPs. The next section will present the fundamental, analytical steps.

Design

Monitoring and evaluation starts at the design and planning phase of the TBP. The strategy is designed to achieve overall objectives by mapping links between interventions. It will also have clearly established objectives and indicators at the impact and operational level. There will be concise targeting in the form of a baseline that will include all relevant indicators for impact, unintended effects and direct effects of interventions. Each element of the strategy can have a more detailed map of intervention.

The link between designed interventions and objectives at different levels can be established through dynamic and participatory use of logical framework approaches. The initial situation analysis and stakeholder consultations can use these methods to identify and communicate the changes that the TBP is created to bring about. As part of the monitoring and evaluation process, repeat situation analysis can revise these logical frameworks as part of participatory monitoring.

It is suggested that the design stage should identify, inter alia, the following:

- the objectives at different levels and corresponding indicators
- the links between the components of the TBP and the contributions they make to each other. This could include key programme interfaces or common factors that need to be closely monitored
- the sustainable situation that is being aimed for, including criteria and indicators for progress towards sustainability. Institutional sustainability such as building capacity for repeat situation analysis and creation of relevant networks should be particularly considered. An outline of the possible exit strategy based on evidence of sustainability could also be identified.
- the monitoring and evaluation system to be used according to the nature and level of the interventions, including the nature of the consultation process. This analysis should closely assess existing monitoring and evaluation capacity so as to ensure ownership, mainstreaming and cost-effectiveness.

One possible approach would be as early as possible to identify a local institution with research and management capacity to facilitate the design, monitoring and evaluation process, including the consultations with the stakeholders. This institution could then act as technical process support functions to other institutions responsible for components of the TBP.

Monitoring

Monitoring refers to the ongoing assessment of progress towards achievement of operational and strategic objectives. This implies ongoing data collection and repeat impact assessment data collection exercises at defined intervals, for instance mid-term and final reports. Steps 1 and 2 in the analytical process outlined in section 5.3 are the main focus of monitoring, combined with some elements of Step 3.

The nature of the monitoring process will depend on the data requirements in individual cases, means of verification, and the possible sources of data and methodologies to be used. Programme management systems of different interventions will often provide the data for

monitoring at the operational level. For monitoring the achievement of operational objectives and impact on children we have to establish specific monitoring systems. Tracking systems of children can potentially provide detailed information on the target group, particularly on the direct provision of benefits of the programme, and as the basis for further impact assessment exercises. These tracking systems, however, prove to be a less cost-effective solution when continued after the intervention. Tracer studies and longitudinal surveys are a more appropriate solution (definitions for these terms can be found in the glossary at the end of this guide).

Monitoring systems of other interventions and institutions, such as those of the World Bank, UN system exercises such as CCA or UNDAF can be used, in particular for contextual variables.

Monitoring as an ongoing data collection process provides information for progress towards impact, as well as for evaluation, and has the added capability of showing trends.

Evaluation

Evaluation refers to the assessment of impact and analysis of attribution at a single point in time. It is where the data collection from the monitoring phase is combined with specific data collected for evaluation and then used for analysis. Evaluation therefore concerns itself with step 3 of the analytical process, as shows in the following Section. It takes a step back from implementation and attempts to provide an overall perspective of the strategy being implemented, including how it addresses the worst forms of child labour situation and any changes to it. In many ways, it is a repeat of the situation analysis discussed in Chapter 2, with the TBP interventions as one of the existing interventions, for which we then assess the specific role in affecting the situation. This clearly illustrates how evaluation is part of the planning and design or re-design of subsequent generations of the TBP.

Evaluation has to achieve a balance between the inside knowledge and understanding of stakeholders and programme management, and the point of reference and benchmarking perspective from independent evaluators. It has to be a participatory and joint process that allows for the comprehensive perspective of both managers and evaluators.

Evaluation has to evaluate the performance of the overall TBP as well as the contribution and performance of individual elements. It has to satisfy institutional evaluation requirements at many levels. Each TBP needs a clearly agreed upon monitoring and evaluation process that all partners will participate in and that can be used as the basis for assessment and adjustment.

TBPs are joint interventions of many stakeholders, national institutions and donors. As joint interventions where the link between components is the key to overall impact, joint evaluations can be seen as the most appropriate way to evaluate joint programmes, both the overall TBP and the contribution from each component. Joint evaluations of existing interventions on child labour in a country prior to the design of a TBP can provide the programmatic overview that identifies possible synergies, and complementarities and gaps. The common understanding and basis for programme interventions that comes from a joint evaluation will also give indications as to whether joint or linked programmes such as TBPs are feasible.

5.3 PROCESS OF MONITORING AND EVALUATION IN TBPs

Monitoring and evaluation of TBPs consist of assessing progress in terms of project implementation, meeting objectives and creating a sustainable impact on children's lives. This process links the operational and management levels of impact. The fundamental analytical steps in this process will assess:

- a) whether the programme was effectively implemented as designed;
- b) whether the desired outcomes were realized and whether effects other than those predicted took place; and
- c) whether outcomes can be attributed to programme design.

Assessment of programme implementation

Step 1: Assess whether the programme was implemented effectively

This relies less on the child labour or contextual indicators discussed earlier than it does on making sure that the programme, policy or intervention was actually implemented as designed. There are many possible reasons why a given programme may not have been implemented correctly, or why adjustments were undertaken. But before we can attribute the impact of a particular programme on an outcome, we need to make sure the programme was implemented as designed, or to at least understand what exactly did take place. The measures used to gauge the efficiency of a program will, of course, depend on the specific intervention planned. For instance, if the goal was to construct schools, the programme implementation success indicator is the number of schools built compared to the planned number, or the number of children enrolled, taking into account the cost and efficiency of implementation.

The specific evaluation concerns here are: 1) cost-efficiency; 2) effectiveness or delivery of outputs and achievement of outcomes; and 3) causality in implementation, e.g. factors affecting programme performance.

Assess whether desired outcomes were realized

STEP 2: Identification and assessment of impact

- a) The previous step considered whether the programme was successfully implemented. This next step focuses on whether we achieved the desired impact on children. Social science research provides a number of ways to carry out impact assessments, each with its own advantages and disadvantages related to cost, methodology and ability to infer impact. Depending on the TBP, one or the other will be more appropriate. However, regardless of the methodology, what one generally does is to carry out measures after the intervention to assess the impact. These are based on changes in relevant indicators of the worst forms of child labour, keeping an eye out for other effects that occurred. The most fundamental challenge is to determine whether specific interventions produced the desired impact, based upon changes in key indicators.
- b) **Assess the outcomes via child labour indicators:** Here, we examine trends by looking at changes in the key indicators of the worst forms of child labour, as discussed in Chapter 2. Was child labour reduced, or, at least, its growth curtailed? The relevant measures here will be derived from the appropriate child labour indicators, measured in surveys (RA, RA+, household survey) both before and after interventions. Relevant changes in key indicators will involve changes *in rates* of participation in the worst forms of child labour. Note that rates might be more relevant an indicator than numbers. Over the course of several years of programme implementation and assessment, the demographic structure may be such that there are more total children of the relevant age

group due to increasing fertility rates. Thus, it should not be seen as a programme failure if the total number of child workers increases, as long as the child labour rate declines. The same goes for declines in fertility rates that lead to a 'false reduction' in the number of child labourers.

We should take particular care in assessing impact when policies and interventions are finely targeted: for example, on specific industries or regions. In this case, we can examine the child labour indicator changes in those specific areas relative to changes in areas or industries that were **not** targeted. But in making any assessment about programme impact, we must be careful to examine what happened in other industries or regions that may not have had any interventions. For instance, it might be that, while we targeted the glass bead industry for intervention and, indeed, it showed a reduction in child employment, we must also investigate whether employment increased in another industry. The same holds true for regionally-targeted interventions. We need to rule that the programme did not simply displace children from one form of labour or region to another. Therefore, we should examine overall rates of employment for decline as well as the number of children. It might also be possible to design a questionnaire asking child workers about whether they had a job previous to their current one. From such an instrument, we may be able to detect whether labour displacement occurred.

- c) **Assess whether effects other than those predicted took place:** As mentioned above, an intervention designed to reduce child labour in a particular industry or region may lead to unintended consequences. Therefore, when we collect data in order to assess the impact of a programme, we need to include indicators that can account for other possible causes. One particular, unintended consequence is displacement. By using indicators of overall child labour, by examining whether rates increased in non-targeted initiatives, and by employing RA+ studies, we are more likely to observe when this occurs.

One particular unintended consequence is displacement. By using indicators of overall child labour, by examining whether rates increased in non-targeted industries, and by employing RA+ studies, we are more likely to observe whether this occurs. It is also important to keep track of where children work, i.e., what percentage is employed at home, thus giving misleading estimates of impacts and reductions.

We can accomplish this by examining changes in socio-economic indicators before and after intervention. For example, by drawing on the available indicators we may be able to predict what impact the removal of a child from the labour market has on her household in terms of health, nutrition and education. Such examination may help us to determine whether elimination of child labour will lead other family members to increase their work hours and whether it leads to an increase in adult wages.

Contextual variables can lead to unanticipated effects that key impact indicators can pick up on. It is therefore necessary to keep track of the contextual variables through indicators so that they can be factored into the analysis of attribution (see below).

- d) **Assess effects of other interventions linked to the TBP:** A TBP strategy can be based on existing or complementary interventions for which the TBP has no established indicators, but that does, indeed, affect the worst forms of child labour. We must obtain relevant information on the effects of these complementary interventions through sharing information gathered from the monitoring and evaluation systems.

STEP 3: Assess whether outcomes can be attributed to programme design

As mentioned above, the most fundamental challenge is to determine, based upon key indicators, whether specific interventions produced the observed impact on child labour. We develop this strategy by taking into account the problems, causes and effects of child labour and by identifying the appropriate policy and programme interventions. This includes links to policy and programme components both within and outside of the TBP framework. For this strategy, we developed an intervention map or hypothesis. At this point, we need to verify the impact this hypothesis has and whether it is relevant.

This part of the assessment is the most challenging. It uses information from the way we assessed the success of programme implementation in Step 1 and the way we assess its impact using the indicators of child labour in Step 2. In addition, we use qualitative data to analyse and determine whether the designed intervention caused this impact. It is typically not possible to establish without a doubt that a programme caused all of the observed effects. In providing an impact assessment, the most important issue to deal is the **fundamental problem of attribution**. Much work in the empirical social sciences has focused on the problem of inference in evaluation. For instance, if child labour declined before and after an intervention, there may have been so many other factors that shifted and also affected child labour that one cannot be certain that the intervention was the only cause of change. Moreover, even if certain child labour indicators did not decline at all (or perhaps even increased slightly), one cannot infer that a programme failed. There might have been an *even more dramatic increase* if there had been no intervention at all. Furthermore, it is, of course, impossible to know what would have happened if there had been no programme at all.

If certain regions or industries were targeted and others were not, we could try to infer causality by showing that child labour declined relatively more in a given targeted region or industry than in others. However, we must again be aware of the possibility of child labour displacement into other industries or regions. A further problem of attribution is that often it is not just one programme or policy which is put into place, but a series of them. Thus, it is difficult to determine which particular component worked most effectively.

The primary approach is to examine the outcomes. Then we need to link them as much as possible to the interventions by focusing on indicators specific to those interventions. For example, if the intervention was to build schools, then one can examine whether school enrolment rates increased. Of course, this assumes all other contextual and relevant factors were constant. For instance, if the programme goals were met, yet the outcome variables did not change as predicted, then we need to question the assumed link between the cause and effect, or recognize that there may be other limiting factors involved. The following box illustrates the relationship between the indicators at different levels:

Box 5.1**Key indicators for Impact Assessment****Programme Impacts on Children**

- A. Number of children involved in the worst forms of child labour: boys and girls, by age, by region.
- B. Number of children 'unaccounted for', boy and girls, by age, by region.

Changes in causal factors, e.g. awareness, attitudes, levels of income etc.

- A. Will depend on particular programme (data collected from baseline and impact assessment)

Measures of programme performance

- A. Will depend on programme implemented, i.e., number of schools built, number of children enrolled, number of children in rehabilitation programmes

The process starts at the top, where impact on children is set out by indicators. We examine changes in causal factors, aided by specific intervention indicators from baseline and impact assessment. We then use measures of programme performance from operational level indicators to assess the implementation and achievement of operational objectives that identify and document any difficulties or constraints at each level. We also examine outcomes at each level, e.g. a reduction in number of children in worst forms of child labour; or a change in awareness resulting in a successful awareness campaign. If the controlling factors reflecting contextual data and indicators for unintended effects behave as expected, then we can draw the conclusions that tie the impact observed to the intervention. If we do not observe the desired outcome at each level, then the documentation of difficulties, constraints, as well as other data, may tell us why this is the case.

5.4 MONITORING AND EVALUATION KNOWLEDGE BASE

The knowledge base is the accumulated data from TBP design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Additional components of this knowledge are lessons learned. Taken together, they comprise a global knowledge base aiming at the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

This knowledge base may be used for a number of data comparisons, for example, country to country, with or without IPEC interventions. One can try to control for differences across countries, either by including other contextual variables in a multiple regression, or by using 'fixed-effects' if multiple observations for countries are available. Comparisons between countries or sectors that have and have not experienced IPEC interventions would be very useful for programme design, keeping in mind the differences between countries. There is the additional concern that if multiple projects are active in a country, it will be difficult to assess which particular components drive the outcomes and impact child labour. This transnational analysis could provide insights on favourable and unfavourable national conditions and how these relate to the success and sustainability of TBPs.

5.5 INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY AS A STRATEGY OF SUSTAINABILITY

The institutional capacity for the monitoring and evaluation process outlined above has to be developed both within each TBP component and for the overall TBP. We need to have the capacity to use lessons learned for the future and to manage the information and knowledge we generate. This institutional capacity must be developed in a central national position to be effective.

Building up relevant analytical capacity, through monitoring and evaluation, is also part of the strategy of sustainability. Each TBP will build components of sustainability into all objectives. In this way, TBPs will enable any future initiatives on the worst forms of child labour to benefit from the best possible institutional experience and knowledge base.

TIME-BOUND PROGRAMMES
DESIGN, MONITORING AND EVALUATION: *LEVELS, METHODS AND CONCERNS*

Level	Design		Monitoring		Evaluation	
	Methods	Concerns	Methods	Concerns	Methods	Concerns
IMPACT						
Impact on children	Situation Analysis (chapter 2) Baseline for intervention area	Identification of specific impact desired	Repeat data collection as for baseline (impact assessment surveys)	Impact on children, families and communities (initial assessment of impact)	Final repeat data collection as for baseline (impact assessment surveys)	Relevance Sustainability Unintended effects
Effects and causes		Causes and consequences to be dealt with Desired effects to be achieved	Repeat data collection as for baseline (impact assessment surveys)	Observed effects in relation to what was designed for	Final repeat data collection as for baseline (impact assessment surveys)	Attribution Cause and effect Relevance Sustainability Contextual (external factors)
POLICY/PROGRAMME (IMPLEMENTATION)						
Targeting	Baseline for intervention area	Children, families and communities to be targeted	Tracking systems	Coverage of children, families and communities	Analysis of output from tracking systems Tracer studies (particularly ex-post)	Relevance (reaching target group)
Operational targets, objectives, outcomes	Part of Baseline for intervention area Specific detailed baseline for component	Specific objectives or purpose of individual components of TBP	Part of repeat data collection as for baseline Tracking system Other monitoring systems	Progress in achievement of specific objectives Link between objectives and components	Evaluation process for individual components as part of overall process Repeat specific detailed data collection as for baseline for component	Relevance (reaching target groups) Effectiveness Factors effecting performance
Process and management (outputs)	Process for component design	Targets and outputs for each component	Management information systems	Progress in delivery (output and activities)		Efficiency